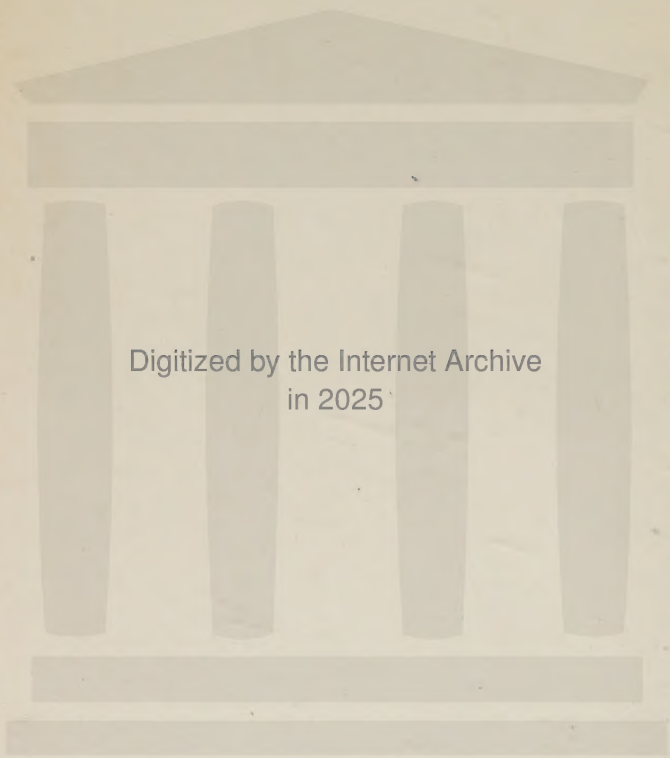
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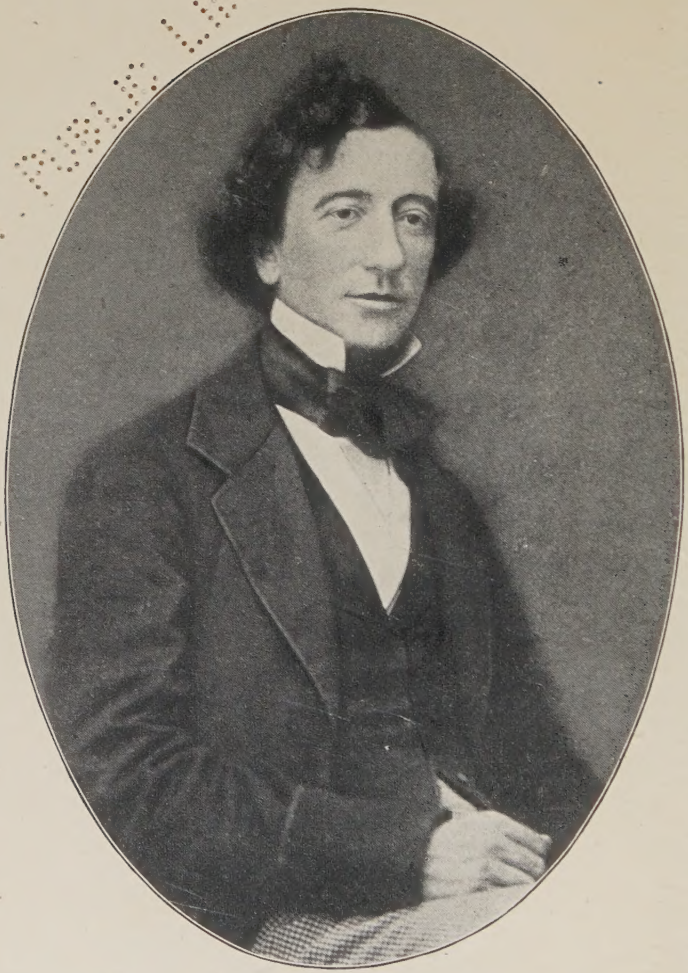

Your affectionate Son
John Macdonald

Age 27. 1842.

CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD

Selections from the Correspondence of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B.

First Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada

MADE BY HIS LITERARY EXECUTOR

SIR JOSEPH POPE

GARDEN CITY, N. Y., AND TORONTO
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1921

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Macdonald, John
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INTRODUCTORY

SO MANY accounts of Sir John Macdonald have appeared during the past twenty-five years that it seems almost a work of supererogation to recite once again, even in the most general way, the familiar story of his life. Yet it may perhaps be convenient to the readers of these pages that they should have under their hand, for purposes of ready reference, a brief summary, in chronological form, showing the salient features of his public career.

John Alexander Macdonald, second son of Hugh Macdonald and Helen Shaw, was born in Glasgow on the 11th January, 1815. In 1820 his parents emigrated to Canada and settled at Kingston, where he studied law, being admitted to the bar of Upper Canada in February, 1836. In March, 1843, he was elected to the Kingston town council, and in October, 1844, to Parliament where, save for the period between 1878 and 1887, he continued to represent Kingston until his death, forty-seven years later.

On the 11th May, 1847, Mr. Macdonald entered the cabinet of Mr. W. H. Draper as Receiver General, becoming Commissioner of Crown Lands later in the same year. Early in 1848 the ministry of which he was a member, having been defeated at the polls, resigned office. Mr. Macdonald remained in opposition until 1854 when, on accession to power of the coalition government formed by a junction of the followers of Robert Baldwin with the Conservative party in Upper Canada and the moderate section of the French Canadians, he became Attorney General for Upper Canada, which position, with the exception of eight days in August, 1858, and twenty-two months in 1862–1864, he continued to hold until Confederation in 1867, and thereafter, under the title of Minister of Justice, until November, 1873.

In 1855 a reconstruction of the cabinet brought in Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Cartier, who speedily became, in

effect, the leader of the French Canadian ministerialists. Between Macdonald and Cartier there grew up a political and personal friendship which endured until the latter's death, in 1873.

On the retirement of Sir Etienne Taché from office in November, 1857, Mr. Macdonald succeeded to the premiership, which he resigned on the occasion of the "Double Shuffle" in August, 1858, to resume office a few days later as Attorney General for Upper Canada in the cabinet of Mr. Cartier, which he held until May, 1862, when the Cartier-Macdonald Government went out of power on their militia policy. Their successors' tenure of office under John Sandfield Macdonald was brief. In less than two years, the Liberal-Conservative party was again in the saddle, under the premiership of Sir Etienne Taché, Mr. John A. Macdonald being the Upper Canadian leader, with Mr. Cartier occupying a similar position as regards the French section of the Province. Within three months of its formation, this administration in turn suffered defeat in Parliament.

Thus, within three years, three ministries had been defeated and two general elections had failed to give either side a governing majority. From this *impasse* resulted Confederation. By agreeing to sink all personal and political differences for their country's good, John A. Macdonald and George Brown formed a coalition government under the nominal leadership (1) of Sir Etienne Taché and (2) of Sir Narcisse Belleau, which effected the union of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick under the name of the Dominion of Canada.

On the 1st of July, 1867, Mr. Macdonald, who had been entrusted by the Governor-General with the formation of the first Dominion cabinet, was sworn into office by Lord Monck, as Minister of Justice and Attorney General. In the general elections immediately ensuing, his government was triumphantly sustained in all the provinces except Nova Scotia, which returned eighteen members out of nineteen, pledged to do their utmost to detach Nova Scotia from the newly formed confederation. The account of how this attempt failed, owing to the winning over of Joseph Howe, the leader of the Liberal party in Nova Scotia, is set forth in Sir John Macdonald's correspondence of the period.

The general elections of 1872—a hard-fought battle—resulted favourably to the administration of Sir John Macdonald, which, despite considerable losses in Ontario, obtained a working majority throughout the Dominion—a noticeable change taking place in Nova Scotia, where a representation of eighteen Liberals and one Conservative, gave place to twenty Conservatives and one Independent.

In 1873 came what used to be called the "Pacific Scandal," resulting in the downfall of Sir John Macdonald's Government and the accession to power of Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, whose ministry lasted from 1873 to 1878, when Macdonald was restored to his old position at the head of affairs by the overwhelming majority of eighty-six in a House of Commons consisting of two hundred and eleven members. Mr. Mackenzie's majority in the old Parliament ranged from eighty odd at its beginning, to between fifty and sixty at its close. This remarkable change in public opinion was due to several causes, chief among which may be set down, the cry of hard times, a demand for protection to native industries, and the personal popularity of Sir John Macdonald.

On the formation of his second Dominion administration, Sir John Macdonald took the portfolio of the Interior, which he held from 1878 until 1883, when he became President of the Privy Council, remaining such until 1889. In November of that year he exchanged the Presidency of the Council for the onerous Department of Railways and Canals, which he continued to administer until his death on the 6th of June, 1891. His second term of office as First Minister thus lasted nearly thirteen years, in the course of which many questions of importance arose, some calling for the exercise of the highest statesmanship. Among these may be enumerated:

1. The inauguration of the National Policy.

2. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, including the extension to that Company of financial assistance in their day of need, and of unflinching support by the exercise of the power of disallowance against the attempts of those, principally in the Province of Manitoba, who sought to expose the newly launched enterprise to the danger of foreign competition.

3. The colonization and development of the great Northwest.

4. The second Riel uprising, its suppression and its consequences.

5. The passage of a Dominion Franchise Act.

Throughout his long career, Sir John Macdonald enjoyed in a remarkable degree, not merely the confidence and esteem, but, in the vast majority of instances, the personal affection of his followers. To their steadfast loyalty is to be ascribed, in no small measure, the success which attended his efforts in the building up of this great Dominion stretching from sea to sea. He lived to see the fruition of almost all his great designs, and when the inevitable hour of departure drew near, it found him happy in the reflection that he had carried to successful completion a great and abiding work; ready, as he expressed it, to sing his *Nunc dimittis*.

Elsewhere I have dwelt upon Sir John Macdonald's deep-seated affection for the United Kingdom, and his desire that the tie which binds us to the mother country might remain unimpaired. Holding these views, the policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, which developed during his later years, and which he believed to be incompatible with the maintenance of Canada's connection with Great Britain, was to him in the highest degree repellant. The imperative necessity for defeating a policy fraught with such disastrous possibilities to the State, stimulated his weary frame for his last fight in support of British connection. This was the issue in the general elections of 1891 in which Macdonald won, though at great cost, for there can be little doubt that the exertions he underwent in that arduous campaign, held during the most inclement season of the year, materially hastened his end.

Sir John was twice married—in 1843 to his cousin Isabella Clark (she died in 1857) by whom he had two sons: John Alexander who died in childhood, and Hugh John, born in 1850, now the Hon. Sir Hugh John Macdonald, Kt. Hugh also married twice, first in 1876 to Jean King, by whom he had one daughter, Daisy, now the wife of George Gainsford, Esquire, of Winnipeg, and second, to Agnes Gertrude Vankoughnet by whom he had one son, who died unmarried in his 21st year.

Sir John married, *en seconde noces*, Agnes Bernard, daugh-

ter of the late Hon. T. J. Bernard, a member of the Privy Council of Jamaica, who survived her husband upwards of twenty-nine years, passing away recently at a ripe old age. To their union was born one daughter, the Hon. Mary Macdonald, who is unmarried. In recognition of the services of her distinguished husband, Lady Macdonald, shortly after Sir John's death, was created, by her late Majesty Queen Victoria, a peeress in her own right, under the style and title of the Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe.

"Harry my boy," once observed Sir John Macdonald to his friend Colonel H. R. Smith, the late Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons, "never write a letter if you can help it, and never destroy one." The latter injunction he himself scrupulously fulfilled, for during many years he carefully preserved every written communication, letter or memorandum that he received. Very seldom indeed was this rule departed from. As a consequence I found myself at his death confronted with an appalling mass of papers, the letters alone numbering many thousands. Many of these were, or had been, arranged in some sort of fashion, but all had to be gone over, read, and re-classified, a labour that will never be understood or appreciated by any one who has not undergone a similar experience. In the preparation of my "Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald" I used about 250 of the more important of these letters, and in my "Day of Sir John Macdonald," perhaps 25 more. The reflection that a collection of papers, so intimately related to the history of Canada in the making, demanded a wider publicity, has led to the publication of this volume, which contains, in round numbers, five hundred letters written by or to Sir John Macdonald, not one per cent. of the total number preserved by him. While the relative importance of the published letters, bears a much higher ratio to the mass than is indicated by their numerical proportion, it is needless to say that much of interest remains. Sir John Macdonald's correspondence with each of the first six Governors-General of the Dominion: Lords Monck, Lisgar, Dufferin, Lorne, Lansdowne, and Stanley of Preston; with Sir George Cartier, Sir John Rose,

Sir Charles Tupper, Sir George Stephen, Sir Donald Smith, Sir John Thompson and many other public men, would, in most cases, fill a volume—in some cases several volumes—not to speak of papers bearing on such large public questions as Confederation; the acquisition of the Northwest; the history of the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways; the Riel uprisings; the Washington Treaty of 1871; the various fisheries negotiations with the United States; in respect of all of which subjects the papers are very voluminous. The bulk of these must await another hand and a later day. Within the limitations assigned to the present work, every care has been taken to make this collection a representative one, and by a process of judicious selection, to throw as much light as possible upon the more important issues of the periods in which they were written. Sir John Macdonald's correspondence with the various Governors-General of his time, are particularly rich in historic interest, as also are many letters which passed between him and his leading colleagues, and others whose names will readily suggest themselves. Due prominence has been given to the story of what is perhaps the greatest monument to his courage and resolution—the Canadian Pacific Railway—as disclosed in his correspondence with Sir George Stephen, John Henry Pope, and W. C. Van Horne.

While occasionally, and for special reasons, I have included in this collection a letter which has appeared in my "Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald" or elsewhere, the rule which I originally proposed to myself, not to republish in this volume any correspondence which had already seen the light, has been very generally adhered to.

In the preparation of this work, there has been very little "editing". While occasionally, by reason of irrelevancy, lack of interest, or their essentially private and personal character, portions of letters have been omitted in certain designated places, it is rare indeed that a passage has been withheld on other grounds. In truth, there is very little in anything Sir John Macdonald left behind him which might not eventually be proclaimed upon the housetops. In surveying the record of his long and active career, nothing is more striking than the serene consciousness of his own integrity, that led him to preserve for the judgment of poster-

ity, his correspondence, not merely with the outside world, but also with political colleagues and intimate personal friends.

Joseph Pope.

Ottawa, August, 1921.

LEADING EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD

	DATE	
Born in Glasgow	11th January,	1815
Parents emigrated to Canada		1820
Entered upon the study of the law		1830
Called to the Bar of Upper Canada	6th February,	1836
Appointed a Commissioner to enquire into the losses arising out of the Rebellion of 1837–8	28th November,	1840
Elected to Kingston Town Council	28th March,	1843
Elected to the Provincial Legislature	14th October,	1844
Appointed Queen's Counsel	11th December,	1846
Member of the Executive Council	11th May,	1847
Receiver General	21st May,	1847
Commissioner of Crown Lands	8th December,	1847
Resigned with his colleagues	10th March,	1848
Attorney General of Upper Canada	11th September,	1854
Prime Minister of the Province of Canada	26th November,	1857
Resigned with his colleagues	29th July,	1858
Postmaster General	6th August,	1858
Resigned	7th August,	1858
Attorney General of Upper Canada	7th August,	1858
Resigned with his colleagues	23rd May,	1862
Attorney General of Upper Canada	30th March,	1864
Knight Commander of the Bath	29th June,	1867
A member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada	1st July,	1867
Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada	1st July,	1867
Minister of Justice	1st July,	1867
Resigned	5th November,	1873
Prime Minister	17th October,	1878
Minister of the Interior	17th October,	1878
Sworn of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Most Honourable Privy Council	14th August,	1879
President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada	17th October,	1883
Received the Grand Cross of the Bath	25th November,	1884
Minister of Railways and Canals	28th November,	1889
Died	6th June,	1891

PART I

1840 — 1867

CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD

PART I

1840–1867

THE earliest letter written by Sir John Macdonald that I have been able to discover is dated the 28th November, 1840, accepting appointment as a commissioner to investigate certain claims arising out of the Rebellion of 1837–8.

From Mr. John A. Macdonald to the Civil Secretary to the Lt.-Governor of Upper Canada.

Kingston, 28 November, 1840.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from you of the 19th instant, acquainting me of the intention of His Excellency the Lieut. Governor to appoint commissioners for the investigation of claims arising out of the late rebellion, and enquiring whether I would act as one of the Commissioners.

In reply I beg to state that I will have much pleasure in undertaking the duties of the office if appointed by His Excellency.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

S. B. Harrison, Esq.,
Civil Secretary,
Toronto.

Mr. Macdonald at that time was only twenty-five years of age.

This Commission, appointed under the Act of the last session of the Legislature of Upper Canada (3 Vic., Cap. 76), does not appear to have made any report. In the first session of the Legislature of the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, an amending Act was passed (4 & 5 Vic., Cap. 39) enlarging the scope of the Commission. Even after this, nothing appears to have been done, and it was not until 1845 that legislation (8 Vic., Cap. 72) designed to meet the case was enacted. By this time Mr. Macdonald had ceased to be connected with the Commission, presumably because in the interval he had been elected to the Legislature.

Sir John Macdonald's public career may be said to have begun on the 14th October, 1844, on which day he was elected a member of the House of Assembly of the Province of Canada for Kingston to support the Draper-Viger Administration in their conflict with Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine. His opponent, Mr. Anthony Manahan, had been a member of the old Legislature of Upper Canada.[1]

When the next General Elections came round, Mr. Macdonald appealed to his constituents as a cabinet minister. Among the issues of that contest was the question of university endowment, to which he attached a good deal of importance,[2] as did his electors, to judge from the following letter, evidently written in response to enquiries as to his attitude with respect thereto.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to a committee of his constituents.

Kingston, 10th December, 1847.

GENTLEMEN,

If I were an independent candidate, and not connected with the Government, I should feel no difficulty in answering

---

[1] Touching upon this gentleman, an old acquaintance of my late chief wrote to me on the appearance of my *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald*—hereinafter alluded to in this volume as *Memoirs:*

"You speak of Mr. Anthony Manahan being represented as an 'uncouth and illiterate person.' Such is not the case. He was a gentleman, highly educated, and a leading Roman Catholic in Kingston. In politics he was a Tory, but opposed to the 'Family Compact.' I remember him very well, and when a boy was frequently at his house."

[2] *Memoirs*, Volume I, p. 54.

the questions contained in your favour of yesterday. But, situated as I am, it must be obvious to you that I can have no right or authority to pledge the administration of which I am a member, to any cause or on any subject, without their consent.

In my answers therefore to your enquiries, you must consider me as expressing only my individual opinions, and not in any way as binding on the Government, or the present Administration. At the same time I may be permitted to say that the previous course of the Government has been such as to prove to the Roman Catholics of Canada its anxious desire to secure, to that large and influential body, equal rights and privileges with any other denomination. With these remarks I proceed to answer your enquiries.

First. As to my views on the University question, I have only to say that they remain the same as when I introduced the University Bill last session. That measure proposed to vest the endowment in a Board of Trustees selected from each of the Universities of Upper Canada. That there should be paid annually out of the endowment, to

King's College.....	£3000
Queen's College.....	£1500
Regiopolis College.....	£1500
Victoria College.....	£1500

and that out of the surplus that would accrue, any other colleges hereafter established should be endowed.

Second. It is my intention to claim for the college of Regiopolis the proportion above specified of the endowment —that is to say, the same amount as to any other college in Upper Canada, except King's College, which it is thought has a fair claim to a preference, inasmuch as it is to surrender the whole of the endowment, and to receive only a small portion of its present income. It has been also ascertained that the measure could not be carried through the Legislature, were the income of King's College reduced below £3000; and it was thought better to yield this point, than to risk the loss of the measure.

Third. It is the fixed intention of the present Administration, and of myself as a member of it, to bring before the Legislature at its next session, bills similar to those intro-

duced by myself at the last session, and to exercise all our influence to get them passed into laws. And I have no hesitation in declaring that I will oppose any measure not containing the same principle of an equitable division among the different colleges in Upper Canada.

Your question respecting the Common School Bill is too vague in its terms to admit of a precise answer. You do not point out in what manner the present law prevents Roman Catholics from having separate schools in corporate towns and villages, nor do you suggest any mode by which the School Bill can be altered so as to remove the disabilities you complain of. It was the evident intention of the Legislature, in passing the School Act, to enable both Catholics and Protestants to have separate schools, if they desired it, and to give such separate schools a share of the public appropriation, according to the number of children of each persuasion. Should the present School Bill, from some defect, not carry out this fair and equitable intention of the Legislature, I shall be ready to support any act amending it in this respect. I am strongly in favour of affording children of the earliest age the means of religious as well as secular education; and such was the design of the Legislature in establishing separate schools.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your obedt. and humble servant,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir John Macdonald's well known solicitude for the high character of the Bench manifested itself in the early stages of his career. Almost his first act as attorney general was to offer the chief justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas of Upper Canada to his old-time opponent, Robert Baldwin.[1] Upon Mr. Baldwin's declinature of the office, Mr. Macdonald addressed himself to his former leader, Mr. Draper.[2]

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[1] *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, pp. 85–6.

[2] The Hon. William Henry Draper, C. B., Prime Minister of the Province of Canada (1843–1847): Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Upper Canada (1856–1863): Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench (1863–1868): Chief Justice of Ontario (1868–1877). Died, 2nd November, 1877.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to the Hon. W. H. Draper.

Toronto, January 23rd, 1856.

My dear Mr. Draper,

Chief Justice Macaulay has applied for leave to retire from the court over which he has so ably presided ever since its organization. His Excellency the Governor-General has been pleased to accede to his request, and it will afford much satisfaction to my colleagues and myself if you will permit us to submit your name to His Excellency to fill the vacant chief justiceship.

Trusting for the sake of the court and country that your answer will be in the affirmative.

I am, yours very faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

The Hon. W. H. Draper, C.B.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to J. H. Hagarty, Esq.[1]

Toronto, February 28th, 1856.

My dear Hagarty,

His Excellency the Governor-General has been pleased to accede to Chief Justice Macaulay's request to be allowed to retire from the Bench, and has nominated Mr. Justice Draper as his successor. A vacancy has thus been created on the Bench, and my colleagues and myself are prepared to submit your name to H. E. for the appointment, should it meet your views to accept it. I may mention that it has not yet been determined whether in case of acceptance, you shall be placed in the Q. B. or C. P.

Being well assured that your appointment will be highly acceptable, both to the Bar and the country, I have great pleasure in making this communication.

I shall be still more pleased at receiving your answer in the affirmative. As the proposed arrangements must be carried

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[1] Subsequently Chief Justice of Ontario, to which office he was appointed on the recommendation of Sir John Macdonald, 6th May, 1884. Died, 27th April, 1900.

out early in next term, may I ask the favour of a speedy decision.

Believe me to be
My dear Hagarty
faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

J. H. Hagarty, Esq., Q.C.

In 1858 Canada adopted a policy of incidental protection which was further developed in 1859, thereby more or less prejudicially affecting certain manufacturers in the United Kingdom. These persons appealed to the Duke of Newcastle, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, who, in transmitting their memorial to the Governor-General, took occasion to lecture the Canadian Government on the evils of protection—a course which the ministry very naturally resented. Their reply was in the form of a Minute of the Executive Council, based upon a memorandum of the Hon. A. T. Galt,[1] then Minister of Finance. The ministry took the ground that the responsibility for the administration of the affairs of Canada was upon them, and that they could not allow any feeling of deference which they owed to the Imperial Authorities, in any manner to impair the right of the people of Canada to decide for themselves as to the mode and the extent to which taxation should be imposed.[2]

It is perhaps worth while pointing out that the Duke's despatch does not profess to embody anything more than his own ill-considered judgment. When a Secretary of State for the Colonies conveys the views of the Imperial Cabinet to a Colonial Governor, it is customary to make the fact quite clear. In the present instance the Duke does not allude to Her Majesty's Government at all, save to indicate that they did not propose to interfere with the legislation under review. It would not be the first occasion on which an Imperial Secretary of State has sent off despatches without the knowledge or approval of his colleagues.

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[1] Afterwards The Hon. Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G. A colleague of Sir John Macdonald. One of the Fathers of Confederation. Finance Minister in the first Dominion Cabinet. First High Commissioner for Canada in London (1880–1883). Died, 19th September, 1893.

[2] For this State Paper see Canada Sessional Papers, 1860, No. 38, pp. 4–12.

Sir John Macdonald thus alluded to the affair in a speech delivered by him at the time:

A representation was made by the Sheffield cutlers against our scale of duties, and they protested, in language which we very properly resented, against our right to encourage manufactures in Canada. I have in my hand a memorial, sent by the Chamber of Commerce, of Sheffield, in 1859, to the Duke of Newcastle, from which I shall read one or two pages, giving their so-called reasons for such a protest:

. . . . . .

Here is a direct statement that we have not the right to raise our revenue, except as they in Sheffield conceive it for their interests! While we admire the policy of Great Britain, and are quite willing to act with it as far as the interests of the country will allow, yet as Ministers of Canada, dependent on her people, we should have been altogether wanting in our duty if we had not protested. We said we had the full right to raise our revenue in our own fashion, according to our own ideas. Yet what do we find? That this Chamber of Sheffield makes a long quotation from the *Globe*, just as the Washington *Constitution* did, to show that on Colonial principles, as well as Imperial, we ought to alter our policy. These are complaints that I think we have a right to make.

While the Duke of Newcastle does not appear to have been very tactful in his relations with Canada, it is but fair to his memory to say that on this occasion he admitted his mistake.

From the Hon. A. T. Galt to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

London, 14th December, 1859.

My dear Macdonald,

I have written Cartier an account of my interview with the Duke of Newcastle. After discussing the other matters with which I was charged, I told him I feared there existed some misapprehension as to our commercial policy which I should be glad to remove. He at once "owned up" and said he had been in the wrong, with a good deal more to the same effect. I trust he may send out a despatch to the same effect.

Sidney[1] has gone to the Continent to make postal arrangements. I trust he will confine himself to the *males*, but this I doubt. I would not consent to being left here all alone, so you need not expect him before you see me, unless you either come yourself or send Vankoughnet,[2] who must be very lonesome in Quebec.

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[1] The Hon. Sidney Smith, Postmaster General in the Macdonald-Cartier and Cartier-Macdonald administrations (1858–1862). Died, 27th September, 1889.

[2] The Hon. Philip Vankoughnet, a colleague of Sir John Macdonald, 1856–1862. Chancellor of Ontario from 19th March, 1862, until his death, 7th November, 1869.

Everything looks favourable here and I think I shall make the Consols go, as both Baring and Glyn appear very hearty about it now. I only postpone it till I see Gladstone, who unfortunately is out of town.

Remember me most kindly to Vankoughnet and Sherwood.

Ever faithfully,

Hon. J. A. Macdonald. A. T. Galt.

P. S.

By the way, you have blighted Smith's hopes and mine by not having sent an answer to the despatch about our uniform. Smith was to have worn his on the Continent, but we cannot get it as the Colonial Office have no reply.

Not long afterwards, a further occasion of difference with His Grace of Newcastle arose. In the summer of 1860 the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII), then a lad of 18, visited Canada under the guidance of the Duke of Newcastle, who gave much offence by his refusal to allow the Orange societies of Upper Canada to participate in the welcome to the Prince. This action on the Duke's part was a source of great annoyance to Mr. Macdonald, not only as the leader of the Liberal-Conservative Party in Upper Canada but also as member for Kingston, where the Orangemen were particularly enthusiastic in their demonstrations of loyalty to the Heir Apparent; and prepared to receive him with great *éclat*. This time the Duke stuck to his guns, and in consequence of the refusal of the Orangemen to lay aside their regalia and dispense with party emblems during the Prince's visit, the steamer bearing the Royal party on their way west, passed by the town. Nor could the combined influence of the Governor-General and Mr. Cartier induce His Grace to repair what was designated at the time by the sympathizers with the Orange societies as a "wanton insult."

From the Hon. G. E. Cartier[1] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald*

Private.

Toronto, 11th September, 1860.

My dear Macdonald,—

I have just telegraphed you the result of my interview with the Duke and Sir Edmund. Both expressed how much it would be desirable to visit

[1] Afterwards The Hon. Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart., a colleague of Sir John Macdonald. One of the Fathers of Confederation; Prime Minister of the Province of Canada (1858–1862); Minister of Militia and Defence in the first Dominion Cabinet. Died, 20th May, 1873.

Kingston again. The Duke finds, however, that the programme of arrangements connected with the Prince's visit in other localities in U. C. cannot be interfered with without causing disappointments to localities which have made preparations in the expectation of the Prince's visit. The Duke has expressed that physical impossibility would be the only thing in the way of revisiting Kingston. He authorized me to convey his mind and feelings to you. Poor Sir Edmund feels deeply for you and your people. In conversing with me I saw tears coming from his eyes. If you will allow me to repeat the suggestion which I make in my telegram respecting the sending of a deputation from Kingston, requesting that the Prince should visit it, I will add to you that I think it would be conducive to a great deal of good if such deputation could be sent. Supposing that the deputation should not succeed in securing a revisit to Kingston by the Prince, the courteous answer, which, I am sure, would be given, would tend to smooth the troubled waters. The Prince leaves to-morrow morning for London at 11 o'clock. I enclose you a programme of the arrangements as now settled, and you will see at what place any deputation from Kingston would be able to meet the Prince and suite. I have seen your Mayor, Mr. Strange, to whom I have communicated the substance of my telegram to you. He is to remain here in case a deputation comes from your city.

I write you in haste,
Your devoted colleague
GEO. E. CARTIER.

The Honourable John A. Macdonald,
Attorney General,
Kingston.

When it is considered that a protectionist policy was adopted by the Parliament of Canada in 1858, and extended in 1859 at the instance of the Government in which Mr. A. T. Galt was Finance Minister, his advocacy in England three years later, of free trade, as indicated in this letter from him, affords a striking illustration of his erratic character.

From the Hon. A. T. Galt to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

London, 3rd October, 1862.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I duly received yours from Quebec, and would have written but supposed you would not have returned from Cacouna.

In regard to what you say about my talking free trade here, I have no doubt it may do me some damage in Canada, but I think if you were here yourself and saw the growing feeling respecting separation, you would feel it as I do, a matter of duty, to urge all you could on behalf of Canada. You have no doubt seen the proceedings at Manchester and, I hope, will approve of my speech, which is fairly enough reported in the *Times*. I did

not know a living soul in Manchester and was fairly in the lion's den. It really required some nerve to speak, especially as I knew I was to be followed and attacked by Ashworth and others. However, the effect was very good, and by far the larger part of the meeting were on my side. I have no doubt my presence there will go far to stop the constant irritating reference to Canada in the Manchester meetings. The press both there and in London has generally dealt fairly with me, but the *Times* is resolved to break me down if it can, and has published two leaders since slashing me in its usual style. I had yesterday sent a reply to its article of the 1st instant (which really is too bad), in which, without showing temper, I have calmly disproved its attacks. Having given me a direct challenge, it cannot fail to publish my letter, but will no doubt concoct some new dose for my benefit. It is not very pleasant but in some respect flattering.

I shall return by the steamer of the 25th and hope to see you soon after. Remember me to all friends, and

Believe me,
Ever yours,
A. T. Galt.

Hon. J. A. Macdonald.

The Government of which Mr. John A. Macdonald was the Upper Canadian leader, suffered a parliamentary defeat on the 14th June, 1864. A few days later it was reconstructed by the addition of Messrs. George Brown,[1] Oliver Mowat[2] and William McDougall,[3] three leading members of the

[1] The Hon. George Brown, editor and proprietor of the Toronto *Globe* newspaper. Represented Kent in the Legislative Assembly of Canada from 1851–54; Lambton from 1854–57; Toronto from 1858–61, and South Oxford from 1863 until the Union. Prime Minister of Canada 2-4 August, 1858. President of the Executive Council 30 June, 1864, to 21 December, 1865. Called to the Senate 16th December, 1873. Died 9th May, 1880.

[2] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, G.C.M.G. Mr. Mowat represented South Ontario in the Legislature of the Province of Canada from 1857–64. He was successively a member of the Brown-Dorion shortlived Cabinet in 1858; of the J. S. Macdonald-Sicotte Government (1862–63;) and of the J. S. Macdonald-Dorion Government (1863–64). In June, 1864, he joined the coalition cabinet formed by Macdonald and Brown, and in November of the same year was elevated to the Bench as Vice-Chancellor of Upper Canada, from which he resigned in 1872 to become the Premier of Ontario; this post he continued to fill until 1896, when he entered the Dominion arena, becoming Minister of Justice in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet; there he continued until 1897, when he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, in which office he died, 19th April, 1903.

[3] The Hon. William McDougall, C.B. A leader of the Clear Grit party. Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Macdonald-Sicotte administration (1862–1864). Provincial Secretary in the Macdonald-Brown coalition Government (1864). One of the Fathers of Confederation. Minister of Public Works in the first Dominion Cabinet (1867–1869). First Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories. Sat for various constituencies in the Legislative Assembly and afterwards in the Parliament of Canada. Died, 29th May, 1905.

Opposition, on the basis of effecting a settlement of the sectional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, the solution of which, the leaders of both parties agreed, was to be found in a confederation of all the British North American Provinces. This policy had long been advocated by Mr. Macdonald, as presenting the only feasible scheme for curing the evils under which Canada laboured. Five years before the date we are here considering, he was a leading member of a ministry which despatched a mission to England to ascertain the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of a union of the British North American Provinces. Two years later (19th April, 1861) from his place in the Legislature he thus expressed himself:

> The only feasible scheme which presents itself to my mind as a remedy for the evils complained of, is a confederation of all the provinces.[1] In speaking of a confederation, I must not be understood as alluding to it in the sense of the one on the other side of the line, for that has not been successful. . . . The fatal error which they have committed—and it was, perhaps, unavoidable from the state of the colonies at the time of the revolution—was in making each State a distinct sovereignty, in giving to each a distinct sovereign power except in those instances where they were specially reserved by the constitution and conferred upon the general Government. The true principle of a confederation lies in giving to the general Government all the principles and powers of sovereignty, and in the provision that the subordinate or individual States should have no powers but those expressly bestowed upon them.

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[1] In the light of this explicit statement, it is amusing to find Mr. O. D. Skelton in his *Life and Times of Sir Alexander Galt*, p. 401, representing Sir John Macdonald as an eleventh-hour convert to the policy of Confederation, which 'he opposed to the last.' In giving utterance to this statement Mr. Skelton appears to have drawn his inspiration from Sir Richard Cartwright, an unsafe guide where Sir John is concerned. Sir John's opposition, as set forth above and elsewhere (see especially Pope's *Confederation Documents*, pp. 54–55,), was not to confederation, but to the *federal* system. As is well known, his preference was for a *legislative* union. When he realized that this, in view of Lower Canada, was impracticable, he laboured for the creation of a strong central government, giving to the provinces only such powers as were specifically delegated, the residuum remaining with the central authority. In this his policy prevailed, for despite the loose use of the word 'federal' in the negotiations which resulted in Confederation, our Confederation compact is not really a federal union, but is based on the opposite principle from that underlying the Constitution of the United States, where the powers not expressly delegated to the central government, nor prohibited by the Constitution to the States, are reserved to the States respectively.

Lord Chancellor Haldane in an Australian appeal before the Privy Council (Law Reports, Appeal cases 1914, Attorney General for the Commonwealth of Australia v. Colonial Sugar Refining Company, Limited, page A. C. 253) lays this down.

and on every suitable occasion he gave expression to similar views.

From the Hon. D. L. Macpherson[1] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

Private & Confidential.

Toronto, 23rd June, 1864.

My dear Macdonald,

Allow me to congratulate you upon the successful issue of your negotiations with Brown. It is a great and patriotic achievement—putting an end to the bitter party animosities and intense personal antipathies that have characterized public life in Canada for so many years; effecting this too, by the only honourable and enduring means, the removal of the cause, the settlement of the disturbing sectional questions. Yourself, Galt, and Brown and (as Brown justly says in his speech) especially Taché and Cartier, deserve the thanks and gratitude of the country for making in the interest of the country what must have been to all of you a great sacrifice of personal feeling.

I am quite sure that in what you have done you will have the approval of every man whose interests are not antagonistic to those of the country. It must also be no small satisfaction to you, and especially to Galt, that the movers of the unhandsome and unfair attack upon him have been so utterly discomfited. I notice you said in the House that the Intercolonial had not been named in the discussions with Brown. Naming it would have been very superfluous. Without it there can be no federation. It is the keystone, the very foundation stone. The early carrying out of this enterprise seems at last probable. It must now be placed on a broad and safe basis. I beg of you to take care that the control is kept in the proper hands and that no opening or opportunity is left for ——[2] scheming.

I wrote you about a fortnight ago but you have had something else to do than answer private letters.

I remain my dear Macdonald

Yours very faithfully,

D. L. Macpherson.

From the Hon. D. L. Macpherson to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Private & Confidential.

Toronto, 4th July, 1864.

My dear Macdonald

I called on Brown on Saturday, congratulated him on recent events, got a very full and interesting account of the negotiations from him, in which

[1] Afterwards Sir David Lewis Macpherson, K.C.M.G. A colleague of Sir John Macdonald. Member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Canada, and, from 1867 until his death, a Senator of the Dominion. Speaker of the Senate (1880–1883). Minister of the Interior (1883–1885). Died, 16th August, 1896.

[2] Name indecipherable

The Hon. John A. Macdonald

Age 47 *Circ.* 1862

he gave you all great credit, expressed our mutual hope that Mat. Cameron[1] would not oppose McDougall. . . . Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

D. L. Macpherson.

In October, 1864, took place what is known to students of Canadian history as the Quebec Conference, composed of representatives from the British North American Colonies, meeting together on the invitation of the Canadian Government to discuss plans for the union, in one Confederation, of all the Provinces, which was successfully brought about on the 1st July, 1867. The delegates from the Maritime Provinces were, on this occasion, the guests of the Canadian Government, which despatched a special steamer to convey them to Quebec, and otherwise made provision for their comfort. The Macdonald correspondence during the years 1864–66 largely relates to the development of this great scheme.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to the Hon. Charles Tupper.[2]

Private.

Quebec, November 14, 1864.

My dear Tupper,

I am sorry I was too unwell to join in the Toronto festivities or escort you to Niagara.

We have settled that our Legislature shall meet on January 19th, and intend to press the Federation resolutions through

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[1] The Hon. Matthew Crooks Cameron: represented the North Riding of Ontario in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada from 1861 until the Union. A member, under the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald of the first Provincial Government of Ontario. Appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas Division of the High Court of Justice for Ontario, 13th May, 1884. Died, 24th June, 1887.

[2] Afterwards the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B., a colleague of Sir John Macdonald. One of the Fathers of Confederation. The holder consecutively of various portfolios in Sir John Macdonald's Cabinets. High Commissioner for Canada in London (1884–1896). Prime Minister of Canada (May to July, 1896). Sworn of His Majesty's Privy Council, 19th October, 1908. Died, 30th October, 1915.

without delay. Canada, on the whole, seems to take up the scheme warmly, but yet we shall meet with considerable opposition. Dorion,[1] you see, has come out with a manifesto against it. Sandfield Macdonald[2] will join him, and I hear they are beating up for recruits everywhere. It is of the utmost importance that between now and the time of the meeting of Parliament nothing should be done to strengthen the hands of the Opposition, or to give them the opportunity of getting up a new cry. With this view, I cannot too strongly impress on you the necessity of carrying out the policy of not in any way giving any party the slightest control over the construction of any portion of the Intercolonial Railway. Brown's confession of faith in favour of the road at Toronto has astounded his supporters, and dismayed a good many of them who have hitherto been educated by him to oppose it by every means and at every stage. They are powerless in consequence of his desertion, but there is a muttered growl about it that I don't like. Were it suspected that any considerable portion of the road for which Canada is going to pledge itself was given away to contractors without the consent or sanction of the Government, a storm would at once arise which could not be allayed, and would peril the whole scheme.

I intend to commence next week to draft the Bill to be submitted for the consideration of the Imperial Government, and shall be glad to get from you such hints or suggestions as may occur to you.

Have you formed any plan as to the mode in which you will submit the subject to your Parliament?

In looking over our resolutions, I see a mistake has crept in. We have given power from time to time to the Local

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[1] A. A. Dorion, afterwards the Hon. Sir A. A. Dorion, Kt. At that time leader of the Rouge party in Lower Canada. Minister of Justice in the cabinet of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, 7th November, 1873, to 31st May, 1874. Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench for the Province of Quebec, June, 1874, until his death, 31st May, 1891.

[2] The Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald. Solicitor General for Upper Canada (1849–1851). Speaker of the Legislative Assembly (1852–1854). Attorney General in George Brown's two-days' administration (1858). Prime Minister of the Province of Canada (1862–1864). First Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario (1867–1871). Died, 1st June, 1872.

Legislatures to alter the constituencies sending members to the General Parliament. Now, this is an obvious blunder, and must be corrected.

I shall be obliged by your giving me your ideas as to the general administration—the number of the Executive and the distribution of Departments. This must all be wrought out, and, if possible, form a portion of the Imperial Act. I have not thought this branch of the subject over, but mean to do so at once. So soon as I can form a *projet* I will transmit it to you. So please reciprocate.

I have not forgotten the compact we made here, and will act strictly and cordially up to it.

Always, my dear Tupper,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Charles Tupper,
Halifax.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to George Jackson Esq., M.P.P.

Private.

Quebec, November 30th, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have yours of the 24th.

Galt's exhaustive speech on the subject of Confederation will give you full information on the general subject. As to the two questions you ask me, I do not think there will be anything to prevent the same person sitting in the General and in the Local Legislature, except the inconvenience to the member himself. I presume that the number of General and Local representatives, in each section, will be the same. The Government will, of course, assume the responsibility of mapping out Upper Canada into electoral divisions, and I should think it quite clear that Grey will have another member. I quite agree with you that the present Parliament is fully competent to deal with the questions without previous appeal to the public. It is very evident, as you say, that, at a general election, issues would arise in almost every

constituency other than the main one of Confederation or no Confederation.

The House will probably meet early in January.

I am,

My dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

George Jackson Esquire, M.P.P.,
Bentinck, C. W.

From the Hon. George Brown to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Private & Confidential.

St. Louis Hotel,
Saturday evening.[1]

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I have been thinking over the defence matter in connection with my being in England, and it does appear as if it would be strange that the fact of my being in England was referred to in the Hudson's Bay Minute and not in that on the defences, as to which verbal communication would be of infinitely more consequence than in the other. I cannot but think that if we wish to know our exact position in England on this question before the meeting of Parliament, and without being committed to anything, my being in England affords the best opportunity for it. I am entirely in accord with the rest of the Government as to the ground that ought to be taken and maintained, and as to the end sought to be attained. I differ only from the tone in which the Minute is written.

Of course it is painful to both of us to find ourselves in a Government with gentlemen who have not perfect sympathy with each other, but had you or Galt or Cartier been in my present case, I think I would have insisted on your names being referred to in the handsomest possible manner. Had I been in a Cabinet with my own political friends, I could only have regarded any hesitation in the matter very gravely. In the present case it is different. We could not expect to form such a combination without feeling it jar occasionally, and indeed there has been much less of it than I had fully expected to encounter. I am not, therefore, complaining—whatever is done in the matter, I will not complain—but I thought it only right to say to you thus I feel about it.

Faithfully yours,
GEO. BROWN.

Hon. J. A. Macdonald.

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[1] Undated. Probably written from Quebec immediately prior to his departure for England, November, 1864. See *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, p. 273, *footnote*.

From the Hon. Charles Tupper to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Private.

Halifax, December 13th, 1864.

My dear Macdonald,

I was glad to learn by your note of the 14th ultimo, that you had quite recovered your health and that Richard was himself again. I was not surprised that the incessant fatigue and mental labour to which you were so long subjected, should have told seriously upon you. We all regretted deeply that we were deprived of the pleasure of your society at Toronto.

I quite concur in the alteration respecting the power of the Local Legislature to alter the constituencies of the House of Commons. I have consulted Henry and McCully on the point, and they all agree to the proposed alteration. I have already informed Mr. Galt that we concur in restricting the power of the local Government to tax lumber, to New Brunswick.

I shall be very glad to receive your proposed draft of the Act as soon as you can send it, and will offer you any suggestions I think desirable. Under existing circumstances Canada had better pass the Act as near the report of the Conference as possible, and then the other Provinces should endeavour to pass transcripts of it.

I fear that the Government of New Brunswick has decided not to submit the question to the people [*sic*, Legislature?] until after an appeal to the people. They might do the necessary work of the session very soon and dissolve at once, and thus not much time would be lost, but the precedent is a bad one.

We have met a strong opposition here but we have the press pretty much with us, and I hope we will be able to carry it through if properly sustained by the British Government. I wish very much Lord Monck would induce the Colonial Secretary to authorize our Lieutenant Governor to appoint two or three additional Legislative Councillors if found necessary to carry the Bill through the Upper House. I will send you a *Colonist* with our speeches at the Confederation meeting last Friday night. It was a great success. Many influential men previously opposed were convinced, and have since come out in favour of the scheme.

Will you let me know what you hear from the British Government? The executive department may, I think, be safely left to your judgment. Twelve executive councillors, much as you have them at present would, I think, meet the case, but I quite agree with you that it is desirable to have them in the Act. I would not distribute them locally at all. It will be an element of weakness in my opinion. Would it be practicable to provide for surrendering local Governments? I suppose not, although I think it very desirable.

I hope Mr. Brydges will be able to give me an early assurance that he will construct the Truro and Moncton line under the terms of our resolution, to be amalgamated with the Intercolonial after confederation. It need not be published until after your legislation is perfected. Mr.

Fleming[1] will locate the line, and an arrangement for the rest of the line to Canada, contingent upon the Confederation taking place. It will damage me seriously if this matter be imperilled by the want of Canada's consent.

You can at all times rely upon me to any extent.

Ever yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

Hon. J. A. Macdonald.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to Thomas Swinyard, Esq.[2]

Quebec, 19th December, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged for your letter of the 13th and I hope you will not fail, whenever you think the subject of any importance or interest, to write me.

I quite agree with you as to the importance of satisfying our American neighbours that Canada is in earnest in vindicating the majesty of the law, and in suppressing with all promptness and vigour, any attempts to infringe it. You will see that Gilbert McMicken has been appointed stipendiary magistrate, with full powers to organize a detective and preventive police force, for the purpose of watching and patrolling the whole frontier from Toronto to Sarnia, and I have specially instructed him to put himself in communication with the American authorities at Buffalo and Detroit. He is a shrewd, cool and determined man, who won't easily lose his head, and who will fearlessly perform his duty.

The Governor-General has also called out, for service, between 1,500 and 2,000 Volunteer Militia, who will be stationed at the proper points, for the purpose of preventing and putting down the first attempt that may be made to continue these aggressions on the United States.

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[1] Afterwards Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., at that time Engineer in charge of the surveys on behalf of Her Majesty's Government and the Governments of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, preliminary to the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, upon which the Maritime Provinces set great store as the material link connecting them with the Upper Provinces. Provision for its early construction forms Article 145 of the British North America Act, 1867. Owing to various delays, the Intercolonial was not opened for traffic until 1876. Mr. Fleming was subsequently Engineer-in-Chief of the survey and preliminary operations which resulted in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Died, 22nd July, 1915.

[2] General Manager Great Western Railway. Died, 25th February, 1915.

The unhappy and mistaken decision of Coursol at Montreal[1] has had a most unfortunate tendency. From the fact of his being called 'Judge' Coursol, his decision is considered a judicial one in the United States. He was however merely acting in his capacity as police magistrate, and altogether mistook his duty, when he presumed to judge as to his right to discharge those prisoners. It was his duty to assume that he had the authority under the statute, and the question of jurisdiction should only have been brought up to be solemnly decided by the Superior Courts. A new process has been issued, however, and it is hoped that these men, or the majority of them, will be rearrested, and the discredit thrown upon the administration of justice in Canada, removed.

The general order[2] of Gen. Dix was most unfortunate and uncalled for. It did not affect us in any measure as Canadians, but it was a direct insult to the sovereignty of England. I am quite sure that it was issued in the irritation of the moment on hearing of the release of the St. Albans raiders, and will meet no countenance or support from the United States Government.

We must perform our duty, however, irrespective of the smiles or frowns of any foreign body, and will never be hurried into extra exertions by proclamations like those of Gen.

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[1] This refers to a raid made on St. Albans, Vermont, by a band of Confederate soldiers, twenty-five, or so, in number, headed by one Bennet H. Young, a lieutenant in the Southern army. The plot was organized in Chicago, from which point the main body of the marauders proceeded direct to their destination through the United States, Young and three others going by way of Canada. On the 19th October, 1864, they met in St. Albans, where they plundered three banks, attempted to fire the town, and escaped to Montreal. They were arrested with a view to their extradition under the Ashburton Treaty, but discharged by 'Judge' Coursol on technical grounds. They were immediately re-arrested and tried before the Superior Court at Montreal, but again set at liberty, the Court holding that they were belligerents and, as such, not subject to extradition. Subsequently fresh arrests were made, and the *venue* changed from Montreal to Toronto, but with no substantial results, and the latest prosecutions came to nothing.

[2] United States Major General of Volunteers, John A. Dix, Commanding the Eastern Department, which included Vermont, on the 14th December, 1864, issued a Proclamation instructing all military commanders on the frontier, in certain specified cases, to cross the boundary line between the United States and Canada in pursuit of offenders. This order, having been disavowed by the President of the United States, was withdrawn three days after its appearance.

Dix, or prevented by any feeling of indignation from carrying our laws into full force.

I am,
My dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Thos. Swinyard, Esquire,
Great Western Railway,
Hamilton.

P. S. I am glad to see (since writing the above) that Dix's order has been disowned at Washington.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to Edward Blake, Esq.[1]

Quebec, 23 December, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have had the pleasure of recommending you as Queen's Counsel, and His Excellency's approval will shortly be conveyed to you.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Edward Blake, Esq.
Toronto.

From Edward Blake, Esq. to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Toronto, December 28th, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,

Absence from town prevented my receiving till this morning your note of 23rd inst. Allow me to thank you for the welcome news conveyed by it, and believe me to be,

Your faithful and obliged,
EDWARD BLAKE.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald,
Attorney General West
Quebec.

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[1] Afterwards the Hon. Edward Blake, successively Premier of Ontario; Minister of Justice and President of the Privy Council (in the Cabinet of Mr. Mackenzie); Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons of Canada, (1880–1887.) Died, 1st March, 1912.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to John Beattie, Esq.

Private.

Quebec, 3rd February, 1865.

My dear Sir,

I have your letter of the 30th ulto. and hasten to reply.

The Confederation (scheme) has now been before the country for some time, and it seems to meet with general, if not universal, favour. I hear of no meetings against it, and as yet there have been no petitions transmitted adverse to the policy. Under these circumstances the Government have a right to assume, as well as the Legislature, that the scheme, in principle, meets with the approbation of the country, and as it would be obviously absurd to submit the complicated details of such a measure to the people, it is not proposed to seek their sanction before asking the Imperial Government to introduce a Bill in the British Parliament. The Conservative Association should, however, prepare for the elections, as they cannot be very far off, should the Confederation scheme be carried into effect.

I am not sorry to learn that Dr. Parker's[1] popularity is on the wane. With a good deal of cleverness he is very superficial, and is soon found out. This opinion is of course *entre nous*.

I am,
My dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
John A. Macdonald.

John Beattie, Esq.,
Barnett Post Office,
C. W.

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[1] T. S. Parker, Esq., M. D., at that time M. P.P. for the North Riding of Wellington, Upper Canada.

From E. W. Watkin, Esq.[1] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

Confidential.

Grand Trunk Office,
21 Old Broad Street, E. C.
18 February, 1865.

My dear Mr. Macdonald:

I was taken to the Colonial Office yesterday by the British North American Association in whose proceeding I have taken no part since your friend Mr. Holton and others denounced it as a Grand Trunk institution.

Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Wharncliffe, and the rest, wanted me to assist them to push Cardwell on in some settlement of the North West Territory, as to which reports are constantly coming—perhaps exaggerated—of possible massacres, and certain Yankee occupation.

When I was in Canada last, I consulted you and Mr. Cartier, and many others, as to what was best to be done politically with the North West—

1. Should it remain as it is—a wilderness, as Mr. Robert Lowe recommends?
2. Should it be an independent Colony?—or
3. Should it be annexed to Canada?

Your views and Mr. Cartier's were in favour of a separate Crown Colony. Mr. George Brown's view was in favour of a Colony having a common Customs house with Canada, but a separate Government.

How far Confederation has modified either views I should be glad to know.

Cardwell asked me to remain after the deputation had gone, and I gathered the impression generally that he was very anxious to get you (Canada) to take all the responsibility, so that he would have no vote to ask for, for the erection of a Crown Colony.

It seems to me as an outsider, that it would be a great mistake for Canada to take the responsibility of governing the North West, as part of herself, and especially on the question of defence—1st. against the Indians, and 2nd against the Yankees—but of course if you see your way to doing it—those of us who simply want to see the country settled, could make no objection—but if you really want the British Government to found and be responsible for a new Colony, you had better let me know, and I will put the idea into the minds of our friends who wish it.

Of course I write confidentially, but there is no reason why you should not mention the fact that I have written, to Mr. Cartier or Mr. Galt or Mr. Brown—should you desire it.

I never like to intrude myself in Canadian affairs, as I have had so many snubbings for doing it—therefore if any offer of service, and request for

[1] A leading English railway magnate; President of the Grand Trunk Railway (1861–1863); a member of the Imperial House of Commons. In later life an ardent advocate of a channel tunnel between Dover and Calais. "Cardwell," to whom Mr. Watkin refers in his letter, was the Hon. Edward (subsequently Viscount) Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1864–1866.

information, is looked upon as an intrusion by anybody, just burn this letter, and do not trouble yourself to answer it.

I have had some very serious talks recently with Bright about Canada and the States, and we have gradually worked up an idea as to the possibility of neutralizing Canadian territory in the event of a war between the United States and England. The idea is at present very crude and may be utterly utopian, but influential as Bright is at present with the Government of the United States, I can see, tho' somewhat mistily, that we might make him of great service in suggesting, and then negotiating some measure, based on the theory which neutralized your Lakes, but would save Canada the cost of an excessive military preparation, and prevent her soil becoming like portions of Holland, Prussia, and of Northern Hindustan, for example, the battle field for human passions, to be laid waste whenever England choses to quarrel with the States, or the States with England apart from Canadian questions.

Faithfully yours
E. W. Watkin.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to the Hon. J. H. Gray[1]

Private.

Quebec, March 24th, 1865.

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of the 8th instant.

The course of the New Brunswick Government in dissolving their Parliament, and appealing to the people, was unstatesmanlike and unsuccessful, as it deserved to be. Mr. Tilley should have called his Parliament together, and, in accordance with the agreement of the Conference at Quebec, submitted the scheme. Whatever might have been the result in the legislature, the subject would have been fairly discussed and its merits understood, and if he had been defeated, he then had an appeal to the people. As it was, the scheme was submitted without its being understood or appreciated, and the inevitable consequences followed.

I regret to find that the course of events in New Brunswick has frightened the legislature in Nova Scotia. In Canada you see that we carried the Address, in both Houses, by majorities of nearly three to one, and we now send four of our Ministers to England to *take stock*, to use a mercantile

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[1] Colonel the Hon. John Hamilton Gray, C.M.G., at that time Premier of Prince Edward Island.

phrase, with the British Government, and to see what can best be done.

We intend also to arrange, if possible, the subject of defence. I do not at all despair of carrying out our great project sooner or later. I quite agree with you that the British Government will carry their point, if they only adopt vigorous measures to that end, and we shall spare no pains to impress the necessity of such a course upon them, with what success remains to be seen.

Your course in the crisis in Prince Edward Island was only what we anticipated from a soldier and a gentleman, and long after present events have lost their interest, it will dwell in the memories of your family and your friends.

Pray present my best regards to those of the Prince Edward delegation whom you may meet, always excepting Messrs. Palmer and Coles.

Believe me,
My dear Sir,
Sincerely yours.
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Col.
The Hon. John Hamilton Gray,
Inkerman House,
Prince Edward Island.

In the month of April, 1865, a delegation consisting of Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown and Galt, proceeded to England for the purpose of talking over with Her Majesty's Government certain questions relating to Confederation, Defence and the future relations of the Colonies to the mother country. They returned early in July.

From the Hon. C. Tupper to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Halifax,
April 9th, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,

I intend to-morrow night to move the following resolution, and I am anxious that you should fully understand our position.

"WHEREAS, under existing circumstances, an immediate Union of the British North American Provinces has become impracticable;

"AND WHERAS, a Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces is desirable, whether the larger Union be accomplished or not;

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this House the negotiations for the Union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, should be renewed in accordance with the Resolution passed at the last session of the Legislature."

You are well aware that I was very sanguine when in Canada that the Quebec scheme could be carried here. I knew that it would be excessively easy to excite our people on the question of taxation, but the organ of the Opposition being conducted by Mr. McCully,[1] secured the support of the two leading journals which influence public opinion, and with the Government and Messrs. Archibald[2] and McCully in favour, and Mr. Howe[3] neutralized as an Imperial Officer, if he did not assist, I knew no effectual opposition could be raised to our arrangements. A number of the leading merchants here, many of them supporters of the Government, were strongly opposed to Confederation with Canada, and they were joined by several of the members in Opposition to the Government, but it would not have given us the slightest trouble, had not Howe assumed the leadership of the party, allowing his name to be freely used as opposed to the measure. Mr. McCully was then deposed from the editorial charge of the *Morning Chronicle*, and Mr. Howe putting Annand[4] forward as the ostensible editor, took his place. Both Archibald and McCully have remained as true as steel, but it is doubtful if they could bring over two votes in the Assembly, and the hands of the Government have been more than correspondingly weakened by the alliance on this question with their opponents, and although apparently numerically strong, we have been paralyzed by the introduction of the assessment for the support of schools to such an extent as to shake the confidence of their supporters in the prospect of success in case of an appeal to the people. At this conjuncture, when an appeal to the people had been adopted as a war cry, Tilley announced his determination to yield to that demand, and followed it up by a dissolution. Had he succeeded by great sacrifices and exertions, we could, I think, have secured a bare majority, but the moment he failed I found that all my ingenuity would be required to avert the passage of a hostile Resolution. Here, as in New Brunswick, the opponents of Confederation profess to favour a union of the Maritime Provinces, although

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[1] The Hon. Jonathan McCully, a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia; one of the Fathers of Confederation.

[2] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Adams Archibald, K.C.M.G. One of the Fathers of Confederation. Secretary of State for the Provinces in the first Dominion Cabinet. Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba (1870–1872); of Nova Scotia (1873–1883). Died, 14th December, 1892.

[3] The Hon. Joseph Howe, the celebrated anti-Confederate leader in Nova Scotia, who afterwards abandoned his opposition and entered Sir John Macdonald's Government. President of the Privy Council (1869–1873), when he resigned to become Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in which office he died, 1st June, 1873.

In 1863, Mr. Howe had been appointed Imperial Fisheries Commissioner, which withdrew him from active participation in the Confederation controversy.

[4] William Annand, a determined opponent of Confederation in Nova Scotia; afterwards Premier of the Province.

I am satisfied it will be rejected in N. B. as well as in P. E. Island. As I knew the Opposition would bring this forward as a counter proposal, and that two thirds of our House must go for it, I thought it better to bring it forward in a subsidiary form. If adopted it will promote the larger union, and place it on a better footing, and if lost it will remove the question out of the way of Confederation. Any negotiation under it must have a good effect upon N. B., and it will leave us in the best position to agitate the subject. Twelve months will, I believe, find a decided majority in the present Parliament being in favour of Confederation. While any resolution in favour would have been negatived after it was decided against in New Brunswick, a majority of the members are favourable, and unless I am deceived, a few months will bring the constituencies right, as they will be kept free from committing themselves.

Ever yours,

C. TUPPER.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald.

From the Hon. A. Campbell[1] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

Kingston, 18 May, 1865.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I am up here for a few days on private affairs, having managed to get friend Cockburn[2] to take his turn at the wheel. Nothing had been heard from you when I left, but I am on the lookout for a letter from you now. We had the memo. of the first conversation between Cartier and Galt and Mr. Cardwell. Our friends seemed to be pushing their arguments home. I trust that you may succeed—the country is depressed beyond example—and men talk of annexation, who a few months ago would have resented as an insult any imputation of the sentiments they now openly profess. Our Quebec conference has certainly had a marked influence in directing men's thoughts to the alternatives before the country. If you succeed—Confederation goes on, and the reciprocity treaty be renewed—we shall settle down to work out our destiny as a portion of the Empire, with a future as a monarchy in the dim distance. But if you fail, and our farmers are again placed in a position of inferiority as compared with those in the United States—we shall be republicans in our own day, I think.

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[1] Afterwards Sir Alexander Campbell, K.C.M.G. One of the Fathers of Confederation. A colleague of Sir John Macdonald in successive Conservative administrations from 1864 to 1873, and from 1878 to 1887, when he resigned to become Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, in which post he died, 24th May, 1892.

[2] The Hon. James Cockburn. One of the Fathers of Confederation. Solicitor General from 1864 until the Union. First Speaker of the House of Commons (1867–1872). Re-elected at the opening of the second Parliament. Died, 14th August, 1883.

We have had no excitement at Quebec since you left. Langevin[1] has generally had some little axe to grind, but everyone else has been resting. We got Chapais[2] to advertise for tenders for the Governor's residence by dint of pushing. The day has not yet arrived for opening them I think.

. . . . Kingston is dreadfully dull—more so than usual, or I am more struck with it—half a dozen people in the street and every fellow with a look of despondency.

I look for you about 20th of June. My regards to Galt and Cartier.

Ever faithfully yours,
A. Campbell.

From J. P. Lightfoot, D.D., Pro-Vice-Chancellor, to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Oxford, June 9, 1865.

Sir,

Although I can only make my proposal to the Council on Monday next, I am so sure that your name and position will command a favourable reception of my proposition that in any arrangements which you may have to make, you may entirely calculate on the result—viz: that the University will rejoice in having the opportunity of conferring the honorary Degree of D.C.L. on you at the time of the Commemoration, viz. Wednesday, June 21st.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your faithful servant,
J. P. Lightfoot.

The following note tends to confirm the statement of Sir John Macdonald as to the pleasant relations which subsisted between Mr. George Brown and himself during their association as members of the Coalition Government formed to carry Confederation, more particularly on the occasion

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[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Hector Louis Langevin, K.C.M.G., C.B. One of the Fathers of Confederation. Solicitor General for Lower Canada (1864–1865) and Postmaster General 1865, until the Union. Was Secretary of State of Canada (1867–1869). Minister of Public Works (1869–1873 and 1879–1891). Postmaster General (1878–1879). Died, 11th June 1906.

[2] The Hon. Jean Charles Chapais. One of the Fathers of Confederation. A colleague of Sir John Macdonald. Commissioner of Public Works in the second Taché-Macdonald administration, March, 1864, which office he continued to fill until Confederation. Sworn of the Privy Council, 1st July, 1867, and appointed Minister of Agriculture. Was afterwards (1869–1873) Receiver General in the first Cabinet of the Dominion. A Senator of Canada (1868–1885). Died, 17th July, 1885.

of their mission to England in 1865. (*Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 265).

From the Hon. A. T. Galt to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Liverpool, 17th June, 1865.

My dear Macdonald,

Brown is quite pleased with the letter and with his own signature, though he says you have omitted the "flourish" at the tail.

He is satisfied about McDougall—as the best thing that could be done.

Your and McGee's rooms are all right for the 24th.

Regards to Cartier, McGee and Bernard.

Yours ever,

A. T. Galt.

Hon. J. A. Macdonald.

From Lt. Governor Sir R. G. MacDonnell[1] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

Government House,
Halifax, 20th September, 1865.

My dear Sir,

Amidst the hurry and worry of parting, I must thank you for your good wishes towards myself as Mandarin of Hong Kong.

I wish before I left, the Delphic Oracle had spoken out a little more plainly in reference to the Intercolonial Railway.

I have done my best to forward the Confederate cause by squeezing as much as possible of civility and frankness out of Lord Monck's last narrow and somewhat reluctant avowal of Canada's willingness to abide by any course England may suggest.

In matters of that kind it has always seemed to me the best statesmanship to speak out boldly and frankly if one means to make a concession—and so get full credit for it. I almost begin now to think that there may be something in the suspicions of the Anti Federals as to the possible postponement of the Intercolonial by an Ottawa Parliament!!

I wish I could have run up to Canada for a week or ten days. It would have afforded me and Lady MacDonnell [*sic*] to have renewed our acquaintance with some of our friends at Quebec and Montreal. Lady MacDonnell sends her love to Monsr. Cartier— at which I am furious.

As yet I have no idea who will administer here. I hope he will be able to complete some of my projected reforms—and he will find an ample field for improvement. I hope we shall meet again—and you will always find me ready to break a lance with you—whether for an Intercolonial Railway, or a fairer and more chivalrous motive.

Ever most sincerely yours,

Richard Graves MacDonnell.

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[1] Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia (1864–1865): Governor of Hong Kong (1865–1872). Died, 5th February, 1881.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck, to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Private.

London, October 26, 1865.

My dear Macdonald,

I should have written to you before, but I had nothing to communicate, as on my arrival here from Canada, I found that Mr. Cardwell[1] was absent from town in attendance on the Queen. I only saw him last Friday on my return from Ireland and his from Scotland.

You will already know that the arrangement of the Lower Provinces is that Mr. Gordon[2] returns to New Brunswick and Sir F. Williams[3] goes to Nova Scotia. This had been settled before I arrived in England. Mr. Gordon has gone out under instructions from Mr. Cardwell to further the cause of Union by every means within his power, and Sir F. Williams will, of course, give the movement every assistance in his province, and I trust both will be successful.

The proposal for a Provincial mission to the South American States and the West Indies has been sanctioned[4] and I am writing on the subject by this mail to Galt.

I am much surprised to find how extensively but noiselessly the opinion that the colonies should be allowed to shape their own destinies, without interference on the part of the mother country, in working its way in the public mind. It is in our colonial policy the counterpart of "non-interference" in our foreign administration, and derives its vitality from precisely the same set of feelings and motives.

I think we have checked the operation of this principle very much by the proposal for erecting B. N. A. into a state which might be trusted with the complete management of all its own concerns, either in a condition of absolute or qualified independence, but you may depend upon it that it will come again to the surface with renewed vigour if our scheme fails.

I am glad to find the visit of the maritime trade delegation[5] passed off

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[1] Then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[2] Sir Arthur Hamilton-Gordon, afterwards (1893) 1st Baron Stanmore. Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick (1861–1866). Opposed to Confederation of the British North American provinces, and was, in consequence, transferred to Trinidad. Familiarly known in New Brunswick as "Thy Servant Arthur", from his having given directions, when Lieutenant-Governor, that he should be publicly prayed for in the Anglican liturgy under that appellation. Died, 30th January, 1912.

[3] Lieutenant General Sir William Fenwick Williams, Bart., K.C.B. The hero of Kars. Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, July to October, 1867.

[4] See *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 292 and 369.

[5] See preceding note.

so well, and I trust they have taken some sound notions home with them on their return.

Poor Lord Palmerston is to be buried to-morrow in Westminster Abbey and we shall then know what is to be the new arrangement of the Government. At present little is known beyond the fact that Lord Russell is Premier and Lord Clarendon Foreign Minister, with Gladstone to lead in the Commons.

Believe me to be,
Yours most truly,
MONCK[1]

The Hon. John A. Macdonald.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

Private. *Charleville, Enniskillen, December 20, 1865.*

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I have not written to you lately for I really had nothing of the smallest interest to tell you. I returned last night from London whither I had gone for a couple of days to arrange some matters connected with the West India Mission which I trust is now satisfactorily arranged. I am writing about it to Galt by this post.

Mr. Cardwell showed me his private communications from Mr. Gordon and from them I have come to the conclusion that the success of the Union next spring in New Brunswick may be looked upon as *certain*. I would not say this to New Brunswickers, because it might induce them to relax their efforts, but for the regulation of our own movements, I think we may assume that the fact is so.

Under these circumstances I think we ought now to make our arrangements so that we shall be sure not to interpose any delay in obtaining the necessary Imperial legislation next session.

For this purpose it will be necessary that all Colonial legislative action shall be concluded by the middle or, at the very latest, the end of April, and that the delegates should be in London by the beginning of May. This is later than Mr. Cardwell expects, but I think this will do. Now I presume our Parliament must discuss the form of the local governments before the Imperial measure shall have been passed. If so we should be prepared to meet not later than the middle of March. If considered desirable, the session might be confined in its operations to finishing what remains to be done of the work of Union.

I mean to return to Canada (D.V.) early in February as I think I ought to be there when the Union is being discussed in the Lower Provinces, and in the event of its success I mean to accompany the Colonial delegation to

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[1] Charles Stanley, 4th Viscount Monck. Governor-General of the Province of Canada (1861–1867) and of the Dominion of Canada (1867–1868). Died, 29th November, 1894.

England in the month of May. I wish you would kindly write me your opinion on all this as soon as you can. I hope the state of the buildings at Ottawa will not offer any physical obstacle to holding an early session, but *coûte que coûte*, if matters progress as I hope and expect in New Brunswick, an early session is essential to the passing of the Union Bill here next year, unless you think the discussion of the local Government question might be postponed to the passing of the Imperial Act, but to this I see many great objections.

I am writing on this subject to Brown pretty much in the same sense I write you. I know you will communicate with Cartier, therefore I do not write to him by this mail.

Believe me to be,
Most truly yours,
MONCK.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to S. I. Lynn, Esq.

Private. *Ottawa, April 10th, 1866.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 4th instant on the subject of the appointment for the county of Renfrew, in which you express your expectation that the county appointments will be made from the Conservative ranks. You write as if you thought that the present government was a strictly Conservative one. Now you must remember that in March, 1864, on the resignation of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald and his Government, a homogeneous Conservative administration was formed by Sir Etienne Taché and myself, and that in consequence of the Conservative party being weak, numerically, in the House of Assembly, that government was defeated. As the leader of the Conservatives in Upper Canada, I then had the option either of forming a coalition government or of handing over the administration of affairs to the Grit party for the next ten years. I chose the first alternative and a coalition government was formed, consisting so far as Upper Canada is concerned, of three Conservatives and three Liberals. It is now my bounden duty to sustain that government to the utmost of my power, and in order to do so, I must act with perfect impartiality towards its supporters in the Legislature, whether their politics are Conservative or clear Grit. If the Conservatives of Renfrew, instead of quarrelling about their county town, had elected a Con-

servative member, there would have been no difficulty in the matter. As it is, the appointments will be considered by the six members of Council from Upper Canada, who will decide what is just and fair under the circumstances. I have had several similar remonstrances from the City of Toronto against Reform appointments there, but my answer has been that as soon as Toronto returns Conservative members, it will get Conservative appointments, but not before.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

S. I. LYNN, ESQ.,
Eganville, C. W.

From the Hon John A. Macdonald to the Hon. Peter Mitchell.

Private. *Ottawa, April 10th, 1866.*

MY DEAR MITCHELL,

I duly received your letter of the 23rd ultimo which took a tremendous long time to reach here. The *Telegraph* of yesterday informed me that you have not yet got through your vote of want of confidence in the Lower House, but that you are in the midst of a ministerial crisis, in consequence of Mr. Gordon's reply to the address from your branch of the Legislature. I hope this is correct, and that you will be able to form an administration that will at once carry Confederation. I regretted a good deal Fisher's motion. It ought to have succeeded and not preceded the answer to the address, and looking at it from this distance it seems to us as if it were playing Mr. Smith's game. However, there is no use in looking backwards and I wish you Unionists all success in forming a good and strong Confederation ministry.

Canada is not in a position to discuss the expediency of making any alterations in the Quebec scheme. Both branches of the Legislature have adopted that scheme as a whole, and they laid it by address at the foot of the Throne. Her Majesty has replied through Her Colonial Minister, approving, on the whole, of the scheme. It is now therefore altogether out of our hands and beyond our control. We cannot withdraw our address or submit it for reconsideration to our Legislature. The Imperial Government is now the arbiter, and after weighing the representations from the

different Provinces, it will adopt such course as in its opinion will be for the benefit of all. Meanwhile, you must understand that, so far as Canada is concerned, we must adhere to the Resolutions of the Quebec Conference.

At the moment I am writing this letter, you are, I fancy, in great excitement about the Fenians. I really would not be surprised if these rascals gave you some trouble. The leaders have been duping the masses so long, and have robbed them of such sums of money, that they must do something to avert popular indignation. They have found that we are too strong for them, and therefore they will make a dash at you. But it will end in a fiasco I have no doubt, and they will be thoroughly drubbed for their pains, if they make the attack. Meanwhile, however, it is an anxious time for you. Give my best respects to S. L. T[illey] and all other friends and,

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Hon. Peter Mitchell,[1]
Fredericton, N. B.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to Adam Crooks, Esq.

Private.

Ottawa, July 14th, 1866.

MY DEAR CROOKS,

I did what I could to secure a member for the University, but failed. More's the pity.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Adam Crooks, Esq.,[2]
Toronto.

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[1] The Hon. Peter Mitchell, Premier of New Brunswick (1866–1867). One of the Fathers of Confederation. Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the First Dominion Cabinet (1867–1873). A Senator of Canada (1867–1872). Member of the House of Commons, (1872–78; 1882–1890). Died, 26th October, 1899.

[2] A former Vice Chancellor of the University of Toronto. Minister of Education in the Provincial Government of Ontario under the Hon. Oliver Mowat.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to Lt.-General Sir John Michel, K.C.B.

Ottawa, 28th August, 1866.

My dear Sir John Michel,[1]

I yesterday received a confidential note from Lord Monck informing me that you and he had applied to England for reinforcements, which I was very glad to learn. As he has telegraphed that Canada would provide barracks, we must lose no time in making the necessary enquiries. Colonel Wily leaves to-day at one P.M. to visit London and Paris[2] as suggested by you to Lord Monck. He can do no more than enquire, until it is known that the Home Government have acceded to your request. Supposing the request granted, it is for you to point out the places you desire in a military point of view. We can inform you where the most comfortable and suitable barrack accommodation can be found. As we are in a state of semi-war, I suppose you will allow the soldiers to be packed closer than they would be in a time of complete peace, and in regularly constructed barracks. We have a very good barrack here fitted for a wing of a regiment, and with a little squeezing it would hold 400 men. We could easily provide quarters for a battalion, and I presume you would think this an eligible place. The men cannot readily desert, and the railway can carry them to the front in 2½ hours, in case of Prescott or Fort Wellington being threatened. Barracks I think could be obtained readily at Hamilton, St. Catharines, Woodstock and Chatham, besides London and Paris. There would be no difficulty in providing for another battalion in Kingston. The Royal Canadian Rifles with their families, occupied barracks there which formerly provided room for two battalions and a demi-battery of artillery. Comfortable residences could easily be provided for the women and children there. I do not know whether additional buildings can be got at

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[1] Lieutenant General Sir John Michel, K.C.B., commanding Her Majesty's Forces in Canada at the time. This letter relates to military preparations to meet the Fenian Raid of 1866.

[2] Ontario.

Stratford but will enquire. Belleville and Cobourg are on the line of the G. T. R., the former about 56 miles from Kingston, the later 70 miles from Toronto. I shall be glad to learn your views as to localities, and remain,

My dear Sir John Michel,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Lt. Genl. Sir John Michel, K.C.B.
Montreal.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to R. J. Cartwright, Esq.[1]

Private.

Ottawa, September 17th, 1866.

MY DEAR CARTWRIGHT,

The Adjutant General has been absent at the camp at Thorold, at Montreal and Quebec, on urgent military duty, and until he arrives here, I shall not be able to enter into the subject of Drill Sheds. I have your note about Napanee, which, of course, will be considered when the whole subject is taken up.

You will see that Her Majesty's Government has at last sent us out troops. They ought to have come out some time ago, and it was only after pressing remonstrances that they have been so sent. You may depend upon it that everything in the way of precautions has been taken: but the public generally are not disposed to believe it. Because they do not see what we are doing, in the newspapers, they think we are doing nothing.

There is not a more active or zealous officer than Sir John Michel, and we may rest satisfied when he is more than

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[1] Afterwards the Right Hon. Sir Richard John Cartwright, G.C.M.G. Minister of Finance in the Cabinet of Mr. Mackenzie (1873–1878), and Minister of Trade and Commerce in that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896–1911). Appointed a member of His Majesty's Privy Council, 19th November, 1902 (never sworn). Died, 24th September, 1912.

satisfied with the preparations that have been made to resist any attack.

Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

R. J. Cartwright, Esq., M.P.P.,
KINGSTON.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to the Adjutant General of Militia,

Ottawa, September 17th, 1866.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

I enclose you a letter from W. C. Allen, the Mayor of Cornwall. He is an exceedingly active and energetic man, and is devotedly loyal to the Crown. If you can forward his views I shall be very happy.

Also a note from Mr. Cartwright, M.P.P., asking me that Major Sweatman, Adolphustown, should be made Lieut-Colonel. I cannot get people to understand that these communications should be made to the Adjutant-General's Department, and you must come out with a new Militia General order and notice on the subject. Meanwhile, as Cartwright takes great interest in Militia matters, and always supports us,[1] if it is right that Sweatman should get the promotion, he may as well get it.

Also a letter from Dr. Morris which I found on my return. He is a relative of Captain King who was wounded at Ridgeway. He wrote to Lord Monck a letter about Captain King which his lordship referred to me, and a civil answer you see has brought out a great deal of gratitude.

And also a letter from Dr. Fee of Kingston, asking for permission to enter the Military School. There seems to be a cross fire of authority somewhere.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Colonel Macdougall,
Adjutant General of Militia,
Ottawa.

[1] The letters of this period indicate quite clearly, what one would scarcely gather from Sir Richard Cartwright's *Reminiscences*, that from his entry into Parliament up to the year 1869, he was a thorough-going supporter of Mr. John A. Macdonald and the Conservative party.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to E. McCollum, Esq.

Private. *Ottawa, October 6th, 1866.*

My dear Sir,

I duly received your favour of the 16th ultimo, for which I thank you. I agree with you that Mr. Brown's course towards his country was in the highest degree unpatriotic, and he will find that the good sense of the people of his province will award him just punishment for it. From a mere desire to prejudice the ministry which he had abandoned, he threw aside all regards to the interests of the country, and he studiously continuously exaggerated the force, the power and the preparations of the Fenian organization, while at the same time he attempted to intimidate the people of Canada by representing most falsely and wickedly that they were in a state of utter defencelessness. His course was quite sufficient to cause a panic, had it not been for the stout hearts of the people. Had the advice of the *Globe* been taken, the province would have had at least 20,000 men under arms since August, and this too in harvest time, amidst a great want of labour for that season. It would have lost the province at least half a million of money, the volunteers withdrawn from their business would have been ruined or nearly so, and in fact such dissatisfaction would have existed among them that would have gone far to destroy the force. On the other hand, the Government allowed the Volunteers to attend to their work, knowing that their services could be procured, as they were before, on twenty-four hours notice. The Government have always been fully informed as to the movements of the Fenians, and the result shows that their preparations have been quite sufficient to prevent a Fenian invasion. I trust that all serious danger from these people is over, and that much of the expense to which the Province has been put may hereafter be saved. It is still requisite however, so long as the combination of these misguided people exists, to take proper precautions, which we shall do.

You recommend the arming of the general body of Militia. Some system of that kind must be adopted when the Provinces are confederated and when Parliament has under

consideration one uniform system of Militia for British America. Meanwhile, of course we were obliged to depend upon the Volunteers, who are on the whole well drilled, and are much more than a match for all the Fenians that will ever cross our border.

Again thanking you for your interesting letter,

Believe me to be,

My dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

E. McCollum, Esq.,
Duart,
C. W.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to George Stevenson, Esq.,

Ottawa, October 11th, 1866.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge your letter of the 8th instant in which you allude to your previous application on behalf of your son for the registrarship of Lambton. In that letter you have offered me the great insult of proffering a bribe of $1,000 a year for four years in consideration of your son being appointed to the office.

If I did my duty I should not only publish your letter, but take legal proceedings against you. I shall, however, abstain from doing so as at present advised.

I must, however, inform you that the fact of your having written me such a letter must prevent me from submitting your son's name at all to His Excellency for the office.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant.

John A. Macdonald.

George Stevenson, Esq.,
Sarnia.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to Governor-General the Viscount Monck.

Ottawa, October 13th, 1866.

My dear Lord Monck,

To your first question—"Is high treason felony"—I would say, that treason is felony and something more. It is

the highest crime known to the law, involving the severest penalties, as attainder for treason forfeits both life and property without reservation.

Sir Edward Coke says: "Treason itself was anciently comprised under name of felony"—and Blackstone also says: "all treasons therefore, strictly speaking, are felonies, though all felonies are not treasons."

I think however, that before the statutes of last session, a British subject could not have been tried for felony only, but that he must have been indicted for treason.

In order to protect the subject from the great power of the Crown, a person accused of treason can only be convicted on the oath of two lawful witnesses, unless a voluntary confession, and there are certain provisions as to serving him with a list of the witnesses, and panel of jury &c., &c., which are not required in mere felonies.

Your second question is—"Can you make a particular deed felony with respect to one class of offenders in a country, without making it so with regard to every person who commits it?"

I think you can, indeed the Upper Canada statute of 1838 drew the distinction, and provides that British subjects or foreigners might be tried by Court Martial, and that foreigners might be tried for felony also. After the passing of that Act, and before the Act of last session, the subject could only be tried by a Court Martial or for high treason. There will be great difficulty in identifying the prisoners generally, and it will be almost impossible to get the evidence of two witnesses against the British subjects if tried for treason. As it would never do to let these go scot free and only convict citizens of the United States, the British subjects must either be tried for the felony or by Court Martial.

I should like to hear from Your Excellency on this point as soon as possible.

Believe me
My dear Lord Monck,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Governor-General.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to M. le Comte de la Fouchère.

Ottawa, October 27th, 1866.

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your letter in which you desire information relative to the late Sir Allan MacNab and I hope that the following may meet the points you desire.

The father and mother of Sir Allan MacNab died in this country many years since. Sir Allan had one brother (David) who died in consequence of illness the result of being on service at Navy Island during the Rebellion. He had also four sisters, Ann, still unmarried—Maria, who married Captain Stuart who was Registrar of Wentworth—Hannah, still unmarried, and Lucy who married the late John O'Hatt. They are all residing in Hamilton, Canada West.

The father of Sir Allan was a retired officer of the Army. Sir Allan had one son (Robert) who was accidentally killed at about the age of eleven years, and one daughter (Anna Jane) who married Mr. Davenport of Her Majesty's Commissariat—these were by his first marriage. He had two daughters by his second wife—Sophia, who married Viscount Bury, eldest son of the Earl of Albemarle, and Mary Stuart, who married John A. Daly, son of Sir Dominick Daly, Governor of Western Australia. The daughters are all alive but I am not sure of their ages.

I am not aware whether the children speak French, but I should think in all probability they do. I fear that you must be misinformed that Sir Allan MacNab left a large fortune. I am not aware what the facts of the case may be, but am under the impression that his estate would have been small.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
John A. Macdonald.

Monsieur le Comte de la Fouchère.

Toward the close of the year 1866, and during the opening months of 1867, the delegates from the Provinces of

Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were assembled in conference in London settling the terms of Confederation.

From Sir Charles Adderley[1] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

Colonial Office, January 18, 1867.

Dear Mr. Macdonald,

I have just seen Lord Monck returned here from Ireland. I am very glad he has his Commission as your Governor-General. He will soon be off for the West. I hope all is now ready for the Proclamation and your Senate well filled. All opposition seems to have died away, and I suppose great interest is felt in the new prospects. I have no doubt you will go ahead in every way—commercially and politically, and the interest in further life will be altogether on a larger scale. Meanwhile we are all moving together full cry for household suffrage here. Once the Conservatives go for a point, they go it handsomely—and there is no drag to the wheel now. I think we shall get some sort of bottom in this household suffrage on payment of rates and one year's residence, and practically shut out the lowest dwellings. We shall not get to universal suffrage. I really think we shall stay at this point for my lifetime, and the country is so aristocratically ingrained that the change after the first burst will be less than any expect. . . .

My best remembrances to Mrs. Macdonald.

Very faithfully yours,

C. B. Adderley

From Sir Frederic Rogers[2] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

C. O., Feb 6, 1867.

My dear Mr. Macdonald,

I have had a sitting with Mr. Reilly over his and your drafts—which he seems pretty much to have in shape, or so nearly so that they could be placed in a few hours in the printer's hands. But there is still a good deal wanting from you—particularly the Local Constitutions—the powers of the Local Legislatures—and the Educational clauses.

I hope you will be able to furnish them to him soon, as Lord C[arnarvon] is very anxious to get on with the bill, so as to distribute it on Saturday—the possibility of which seems to be getting more and more doubtful.

Yours very truly,

Frederic Rogers.

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[1] The Right Hon. Sir Charles Bowyer Adderley, K.C.M.G., M.P., afterwards 1st Baron Norton. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1866–1868).

[2] Sir Frederic Rogers, Bart., afterwards Lord Blachford. Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1860–1871). Touching the Confederation Conference which met in London, 1866–7, he writes: "Lord Carnarvon was in the chair, and I was rather disappointed in his power of presiding. Macdonald was the

From Professor Thorold Rogers[1] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.*

Oxford, March 7th, 1867.

My dear Mr. Macdonald,

I should have long since acknowledged your good nature in sending me the very useful Canadian directory, but I had no idea where you might be. A day or two ago, however, I met Mr. Bruce Gardyne and he gave me your address.

He told me also that, not content with effecting a political confederation, you had—tempted naturally by an association of ideas—lately formed a domestic confederation also. I ought to have seen it in the *Times*, but as my moral sense is weak, and as I had better therefore do all I can to preserve its feeble powers, I don't ordinarily read that paper.

You will permit me to offer you my felicitations and hopes for your happiness. Your scheme in the wider field of political action seems to prosper. I hope that you have quieted a turbulent Nova Scotian, a Mr. Howe, whom I met at Birmingham. He was furious at the plan of union, and as I thought indignant at the risk of absorption. You know my notions, and that I wish you were *socii* instead of *coloni*.

Yours very faithfully,

James E. Thorold Rogers.

From the Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee[2] *to the Hon. John A. Macdonald*

71 Champs Élysées, Paris.
April 9, 1867.

My dear Macdonald,

I infer, from what McDougall says, that you are not coming over, even for a day to Paris, and that you sail next Saturday. I, therefore, will not

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ruling genius and spokesman, and I was very greatly struck by his power of management and adroitness." *Letters of Lord Blachford, p. 301.*

The Mr. Reilly referred to by Sir F. Rogers—afterwards Sir Francis Savage Reilly, K.C.M.G., Q.C.—was engaged in the drafting of the British North America Act. An obituary notice of this gentleman will be found in the *Times* of the 28th August, 1883.

[1] James Edwin Thorold Rogers, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Oxford (1862–1867), and an advanced Liberal M.P. (1880–1886). Died, 12th October, 1890. The personal reference in this letter is to Mr. Macdonald's marriage to Miss Bernard (the late Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe), which took place in London at St. George's, Hanover Square on the 16th February previously.

[2] One of the Fathers of Confederation. President of the Executive Council in the J. S. Macdonald–Sicotte Government (1862–1863). Minister of Agriculture in the Taché–Macdonald and Belleau–Macdonald administrations from 1864 until the Union. Assassinated, 7th April, 1868. At the date of this letter Mr. McGee was in Paris as Minister of Agriculture, arranging for Canada's participation in the Exhibition of 1867.

see you, probably, till the middle of May, when I hope to be at Ottawa. By the 20th or 25th of this month all that can be done for Canada will be done, and I shall feel free to leave by the last of this month, or the first boat of next.

I am glad on public grounds, though sorry we are not to see you here, that you are to be in Canada so soon. There seem some rather embarrassing symptoms of old party warfare getting up again, before Confederation has even had a trial. Theoretically it is true, the work is done; but practically it is only beginning. At such a real crisis, personal and mere party politics might afford to *bide a wee*. You observe in your last that my own "political future is at stake." I feel the whole force of that remark, and will not lose a day in returning, that I possibly can. As to Montreal West, I do not fear any issue which I may have to meet there, with any one; but the other two seats in that city can only be secured by the active co-operation of those I can influence, as was shown to Cartier's and Rose's satisfaction last time, and time before. Whatever I can do westward, will be, as it always has been at your service. Ever since we have acted together, I recognize no other leader in Parliament or the country; and I only ask in return, that you will protect my position in my absence—till I am able to mount guard over it myself. I certainly have no desire to embarrass future arrangements which will naturally be under your direction, but in a Confederation Government, founded on principles which I have always zealously advocated, I will, if in Parliament, give way neither to Galt, nor to a third Frenchman, "nor any other man."

If you have time I should like to hear from you again before you go; if not, do not mind writing. I may sail directly from Derry for Quebec, on the last day of April, or the 6th of May. So you may expect to hear of and from me about the 12th or at latest the 20th of May.

We are getting on very slowly here, but I am assured the end of this week will see everything *in situ*, in our Department.

With best regards to Bernard and best respects to Mrs. Macdonald,

Yours very truly,

THOS. D'ARCY MCGEE.

Hon. J. A. Macdonald,
London.
Send me a legacy of late Canadian papers if you have them.

From His Honour Judge Gowan[1] to the Hon. John A. Macdonald

Ardraven, Barrie, 11 May, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR,

Welcome back to put the top-stone on the Dominion of which you have been the artificer in chief.

It will be a proud day to you when Canada issues from a sea of strife

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir James Robert Gowan, K.C.M.G. A very old and intimate friend of Sir John Macdonald. Judge of the County Court of the County of Simcoe (1843–1883). A Senator of Canada (1885–1907). Died, 18th March, 1909.

and littleness to take her place in the procession of powers linked with the motherland. To you there will be a new and extended field to occupy, new triumphs to achieve, "No pent up Utica will contract your powers" and I hope the papers speak the truth in saying you never were in better health, for I fancy there will be plenty of work before you to bring all things into order and to give a fair start to the new Dominion.

You will doubtless be surrounded by a multitude of people as annoying, if not so numerous, as a swarm of mosquitoes buzzing their little businesses in your ear. It is one of the penalties of position which public men have to tolerate at times, irritating as it must be.

Not wishing to rush upon you—to thrust myself upon you—with the crowd, I had expected to hear from Mr. Bernard[1] when it would please you (if pleasure be in the case) to see me in Ottawa with my memorial for a junior [county Judge]. You were kind enough to say you would take it up upon your arrival, but I did not understand from this that I was to "rush upon you with a shout after the manner of the ancients." I meant to wait a while before troubling you unless indeed you wished me to comply literally with what you said and go down at once—that is just what I desired to learn from Mr. Bernard, but as he is not in Ottawa it only remains to ask yourself. . . .

Believe me,
My dear Sir,
Ever faithfully yours,
J. R. Gowan.

The Honourable
J. A. Macdonald, D.C.L.,
Ottawa.

From the Hon. A. Shea[2] to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

St. John's Newfoundland,
May 14th, 1867.

My dear Sir,

May I be allowed to offer you my best wishes on the late auspicious event which I trust will fully realize all your most sanguine hopes. I see by the papers you have recently returned to Canada where you will of course soon be called on to assume a weighty share of the burthen which lies before the public men of the Dominion. I have lately been in Canada myself, but had not the pleasure of meeting any of my old friends but M. Langevin for a short time in Quebec.

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[1] Lieutenant Colonel Hewitt Bernard, C.M.G. Sir John Macdonald's Private Secretary (1858–1864). Deputy Minister of Justice (1868–1876). Secretary to the Confederation Conferences at Quebec (1864) and at London (1866–1867). Brother of the Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe. Died, 24th February, 1893.

[2] Afterwards Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G. Represented Newfoundland with Mr. Carter at the Quebec Conference. The "auspicious event" to which Mr. Shea alludes is doubtless Mr. Macdonald's second marriage. Was a Cabinet Minister in Newfoundland from 1865–1870; appointed Governor of the Bahama Islands in 1886. Died, August, 1905.

We are gradually but surely arriving here at a state of feeling that will no doubt in the course of the present year enable us to seek admission into the Union, and though our progress has been somewhat deliberate, we shall, I think escape the after conflicts with which our friends in Nova Scotia are now contending.

Carter[1] and I have thought that perhaps you will be disposed to signalize the inauguration of the new Government, and if it did not interfere with your views respecting the arrangements for that event, we would take it very kind of you to ask Lord Monck to give our Governor an invitation to be with you at that time. He has acted so well and so loyally all through the discussions of the question which you have brought to so triumphant an issue, that we are most anxious he should receive this recognition which we have reason to think would be very grateful to him, while his visit would no doubt enable him to assist us in what we have yet to do in this colony to finish the arrangements for our admission. He has felt much chafed at our remaining so long in the rear, but we have had his ready co-operation at all times, even where his own views and ours may not exactly have coincided as to the best means of attaining our common object.

I am much pleased to find that Lord Monck is to be the first Governor-General of the Dominion. Justice would not have been done by any other appointment, and I am sure this will be the single opinion of every Union man in these Provinces.

Pardon me the trouble I am proposing to give you, and trusting my request may not be found inexpedient,

I am,
My dear sir,
Yours very truly,
A. Shea

The Honourable
Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to the Hon. John A. Macdonald.

London, May 24, 1867.

My dear Macdonald,

The proclamation appointing the Union to come into operation on July 1st, and nominating the members of the Senate, was agreed to by the Queen in Council on Wednesday last, and appeared in the *Gazette* of that evening, so that our work, so far, has been finished.

It now remains for us to take the necessary steps to put in motion the machinery which we have created, and I write this note to authorize you

[1] The Hon. F. B. T. Carter, afterwards Sir Frederick Carter; was Premier and Attorney General of Newfoundland (1865–1869), and again from 1874–1879, in which latter year he was appointed Chief Justice of Newfoundland, which position he held until 1899. Died in June, 1901.

to take the needful measures, so as to have a ministry ready to be sworn into office and to commence the performance of their several functions on the 1st July. I entrust this duty to you as the individual selected for their chairman and spokesman by unanimous vote of the delegates when they were in England, and I adopt this test for my guidance in consequence of the impossibility, under the circumstances, of ascertaining, in the ordinary constitutional manner, who possesses the confidence of a Parliament which does not yet exist.

In authorizing you to undertake the duty of forming an administration for the Dominion of Canada, I desire to express my strong opinion that, in future, it shall be distinctly understood that the position of First Minister shall be held by *one* person, who shall be responsible to the Governor-General for the appointment of the other ministers, and that the system of dual First Ministers, which has hitherto prevailed, shall be put an end to.

I think this is of importance, not only with reference to the maintenance of satisfactory relations between the Governor-General and his cabinet, but also with a view to the complete consolidation of the Union which we have brought about.

I may mention that I have communicated with Sir. F. Williams and General Doyle, and they have both expressed their willingness to undertake the duties of provisional Lt. Governors, should it be found desirable to avail ourselves of their services.

My purpose is to sail on the 14th of June, direct to Quebec. I shall go in the first instance to Spencer Wood, but I can, of course, come to Ottawa whenever it is necessary.

Believe me to be
Most truly yours,
MONCK.

The Honourable J. A. Macdonald.

From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to Alex. Morris, Esq., M.P.P.[1]

Ottawa, July 1st, 1867.

Private.

MY DEAR MORRIS,

Thanks for yours of the 26th. Macdougall and Howland have returned from Toronto in good spirits. It is believed that they have made a great impression upon the members of the Convention by their manly conduct there. The

[1] Sat for the South Riding of Lanark in the Provincial Assembly, 1861 until the Union, and in the first Parliament of the Dominion (1867–1872); sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Inland Revenue, 16th November, 1869; Chief Justice of Manitoba, July to December, 1872; Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba (1872–1877). Died, 28th October, 1889.

split in the Reform ranks seems to be permanent, and it appears to me now certain, with the joint action of the moderate Liberals and the Conservative party proper, that a majority must be obtained.

I am very glad to learn from you that Macdougall is safe in his riding. I do not think that he has been asked to stand for Ottawa. He certainly cannot do so without a contest, because the blood of both McGillivary and Currier is up, and they are resolved to fight it to the last—both are, however, friendly to the Government.

The present intention is to have a Cabinet of 13. The Departments are not yet finally settled, they will probably be arranged in a day or two.

Until Council is sworn in we have preferred to postpone the consideration of the time for holding the elections. I know there is a good deal of diversity of opinion among us on that subject—what do you think? In haste

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Alex. Morris, Esq., M.P.P.
Perth.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to Sir John Macdonald

Spencer Wood, July 6, 1867.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

You will have to consider what course is to be adopted with respect to the case of a gentleman named for the Senate in the Queen's Proclamation, who refuses to accept the appointment under the 127th sect. of the Act of Union.

Only one case, as far as I know, has as yet occurred—that of Mr. Todd, in New Brunswick.

It appears to me, looking at the terms of the 25th sect. of the Act, that I am bound to issue my summons in the first instance to those persons named in the Queen's Proclamation. Every person so summoned becomes, by the issue of the summons, "a Senator" under the 24th sect. and may by the 30th sect. resign his place.

If this course shall be adopted it seems to me that difficulty will be avoided.

Believe me to be,
Most truly yours,
MONCK.

The Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From the Hon. A. Campbell to Sir John Macdonald

St. Lawrence Hall,
Montreal, 10th July, 1867.

My dear Macdonald,

Mr. McGee has, I find, stated publicly here that he had been offered the seat in the Cabinet now held by me; that is, that you had proposed that he should be your Conservative colleague from Upper Canada. I can hardly credit you with such a scheme, and therefore make no comment upon it—but Mr. McGee has created the impression here, and I desire to say that if it be possible that you have had such a design in view, and if you would still like to attempt its execution, my seat is at your disposal at any moment.

I am,
Very faithfully yours,
A. Campbell.

The Honorable Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Spencer Wood, July 13, 1867.*

My dear Macdonald,

I have received your letter and enclosures; the latter I return. I think the aspect of affairs very satisfactory, and I shall be disappointed if even the junction of the two "wings" should succeed in infusing new life into the Fenian organization.

I am glad you have succeeded in attaching Sandfield Macdonald, and I rejoice to hear that his proposed ministry is not so cumbersome in point of numbers as that which Sir Narcisse proposes in Quebec.

I wish you all success in your undertaking.

Believe me to be,
Most truly yours,
Monck.

Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

P. S.

I think the correspondence between the Governor General and the Lieutenant Governors should be carried on through the Secretary of State for the Provinces and not through my office. The Lieutenant Governors are officers of the Government of the Dominion, and should correspond with the Secretary of State, not directly with the Governor General. I foresee that there will be confusion and endless "circumlocution" if this is not arranged at the outset, and if you see no objection, I propose to address an "instruction" to the Lieutenant Governors desiring that this shall be so. Let me hear from you on this point.

From the Hon. Narcisse Belleau[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Quebec, 24th September, 1867.

DEAR SIR,

A word from an old colleague to thank you sincerely for all your kindness and attentions and also for the constant marks of friendship which you bestowed, up to the time when you were pleased to acquiesce to my nomination as Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec.

It is useless to assure you of my gratitude and of my disposition to give you cheerfully all the help and assistance in my power, if ever it should be needed.

The extraordinary amount of work which you have accomplished during the late elections in your Province, assures you, I am happy to say, the gratefulness of the Liberal Conservatives, and secures you the place of Premier in the Cabinet of the Dominion of Canada for, at least, the next five years, or else you would refuse to make use of those resources of which nature has been so lavishly prodigal in your favour, which never forsook you in the numerous difficulties which you had to encounter.

One of the first difficulties will probably be to find the best and most appropriate way to deal with Nova Scotia. Will she protest against the new political order of things? Will she abstain from entering the Legislative Hall; or else will she enter the Commons only to raise the question of the repeal of the Confederation; or will she oppose all legislation?

Your tact and your appreciation of the human character will, at once, be put into requisition.

I am anxious to see you at work. Your influence upon a larger theatre, aided by your colleagues, will, I am sure, find a favourable issue to the annoyance which a whole province causes you. I know that your courage will not fail, and that with your prudence you shall know how to deal with that naughty black speck rising at the horizon.

Please present my most humble respects to Lady Macdonald.

And believe me,

Your most devoted friend,

N. F. BELLEAU.

Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

The first General Elections held under Confederation, took place in the months of August and September, 1867, and resulted in a large majority for the coalition government.

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[1] Afterward the Hon. Sir Narcisse Belleau, Kt., Prime Minister of the Province of Canada, 1865 until the Union. Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec on the 1st July, 1867. Died, 14th September, 1894.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. A. Shea.

Private. *Ottawa, 7th October, 1867.*

My dear Sir,

I received your kind note of the 3rd ultimo, and must thank you for your congratulations.

We have made a clean sweep in the old Province of Canada at our elections, and notwithstanding the defections in Nova Scotia, which you will have been sorry to see, we shall have a working majority from *75 to 80*.

It will be of very great importance to secure the adhesion of Newfoundland to the new system. I am glad to learn from you the probability of your being able to carry Confederation in your colony.

Lord Monck has written to your Governor inviting him to be his guest at the opening of our Parliament on the 6th November. I hope that he won't be frightened at the unfriendly season of the year.

Pray give my kind regards to Mr. Carter and believe me,

My dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

John A. Macdonald

The Hon. Ambrose Shea,
St. John's,
Newfoundland.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. John Rose.[1]

Confidential. *Ottawa, 8th October, 1867.*

My dear Rose,

You will have been rather surprised that I did not write you before, anent the Speakership, but the fact is I had noth-

[1] Afterwards the Right Hon. Sir John Rose, Bart., G.C.M.G. An intimate personal and political friend and colleague of Sir John Macdonald, under whom he held various offices in the Government of the Province of Canada (1857–1861). Finance Minister of Canada (1867–1869). Sworn of Her Majesty's Privy Council, 3rd August, 1886. Died, 24th August, 1888.

In 1867, Mr. Rose who had been elected to the House of Commons for the County of Huntingdon, P.Q., was a candidate for the Speakership. It was however considered advisable to appoint the Hon. J. E. Cauchon to the Speakership of the Senate, and as Sir John points out, Lower Canada could not have both chairs. The

ing to communicate on the subject. We have had no talk on the matter in Council, as we only met last week since the elections, and have been hitherto occupied with Nova Scotia and other matters of pressing exigency. We broke up, leaving here only a bare quorum in order to allow colleagues at a distance to put their houses in order before the Session.

We shan't reassemble in full Council till the 25th or 26th and not till then will the Speakership of both Houses be discussed.

Meanwhile the candidates for the Chair besides yourself are Cockburn, Hillyard Cameron[1] and Gray[2] of New Brunswick.

As between Cockburn and Cameron the former is the favourite, as he has strong claims on his late colleagues of the old Province of Canada—claims which he has strengthened by his conduct at the elections. He took charge of and carried *all* the counties in his vicinity. The question, however, for the Council will be to settle the sectional claims and rivalries, and I see considerable difficulty in that.

Lower Canada claims one of the seats for Cauchon[3] and in the formation of the Government in July, when Upper Canada claimed and obtained one more seat in the cabinet than Lower Canada, the latter with great difficulty yielded, and

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Hon. James Cockburn, M.P. for West Northumberland, Ontario, was elected Speaker of the first House of Commons, and re-elected to that office at the opening of the second Parliament in March, 1873, thus affording the only instance in Canadian history of a Speaker of the popular Assembly occupying that office for more than one Parliament.

[1] The Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Solicitor General for Upper Canada (1846–1848). Sat for various constituencies in the Legislative Assembly of Canada, and afterwards in the Parliament of the Dominion. Supposed in early life to have been a rival of Sir John Macdonald for the leadership of the Conservative party, but in later years he was a staunch friend and supporter.

[2] The Hon. John Hamilton Gray. One of the Fathers of Confederation. Represented the City and County of St. John, New Brunswick, in the House of Commons (1867-1872). Appointed in the latter year to the Supreme Court Bench of British Columbia. Died, 5th June, 1889.

[3] The Hon. Joseph Edward Cauchon. Commissioner of Crown Lands (1855–1857) and of Public Works (1861–1862) in the Government of the Province of Canada. First Speaker of the Senate (1867–1872). President of the Privy Council in the Cabinet of Mr. Mackenzie (1875-1877) and Minister of Inland Revenue (1877). Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba (1877-1882). Died, 23rd February, 1885.

only on the understanding that Lower Canada should have one chair. It is now *almost* settled that Cauchon goes to the Lords. This is not however settled in Council, but only in quiet talks: of course Lower Canada cannot have both seats. This is practically the rock in your path. The Cauchon matter you must consider as a secret. If Lower Canada is to get the Chair of the Commons, of course I go for you up to the handle, but even then I suppose the decision must ultimately rest with the L. C. members of the Council—in other words with Cartier.

I shall now be at Ottawa till the Session. If you would like to run up and talk of things in general and *particular*, I need scarcely say that it will give me great pleasure.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. John Rose,
Montreal.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. A. G. Archibald.

Ottawa, 14th October, 1867.

MY DEAR ARCHIBALD,

I wrote the other day to the Hon. P. C. Hill[1] on the constitutional question of their holding office until deprived of it by a vote of Parliament.

The constitutional principle is this—that the Crown has the absolute prerogative of selecting its own ministers. They have a right to expect a fair trial, if they be a new ministry, and at all events, it is a surrender of the prerogative of the Crown if they give up their offices from a mere idea that they will not command the confidence of Parliament when it meets.

You must remember that as the power of appointment rests

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[1] When the Government of the Hon. Charles Tupper resigned office in Nova Scotia on the 30th June, 1867, Mr. Philip Carteret Hill, at that time a prominent Conservative and mayor of Halifax, was called upon to form an administration. The elections took place the following September. Mr. Hill's Government was overwhelmingly defeated and he resigned office in November. Mr. Hill later changed his politics, and subsequently became Liberal Prime Minister of Nova Scotia (1875–1878). In the latter year he again suffered overwhelming defeat at the polls. Mr. Hill subsequently returned to England, where he died in September, 1895.

in the Crown, it is a grave responsibility (resting upon Parliament, and for which Parliament is held accountable to the people), to attack the exercise of the prerogative. The representatives of the people take an extreme, though a constitutional, step in voting want of confidence, and when they do so, the people have a right to support the representatives or to support the Crown as they think best.

The Government of Nova Scotia by resigning now, give up their whole case. They have been defeated because they are in favour of Confederation. In a few years, perhaps in a few months, the propriety of their course in supporting Union may be recognised by the people, who may, as in New Brunswick, upon sober second thought, approve of the course of the ministry, and reverse their own previous verdict. Ere long, members of Parliament will be anxious to avoid the imputation of having voted against Union and the ministerial party should see that no man should escape, but that his vote against Union, that is against the ministry, should appear upon the Journals, and that they should be held responsible at future elections, for that vote.

When Mr. Pitt came first into power he was, as you know, in a minority, and again and again votes of censure were moved and carried by the Opposition under Charles Fox. Undeterred by a series of defeats, and claiming that the prerogative of appointment by the Crown should not be obstructed by Parliament, except after a fair trial of his new Administration, he appealed to the people by dissolution against the votes of censure and want of confidence passed by the representatives of the people. The people sustained Pitt by an overwhelming return, and in the most marked manner disapproved of the responsibility assumed by Parliament in censuring the appointment of Pitt and his ministry by George the third.

In June, 1841, Lord Melbourne dissolved Parliament on account of a vote of want of confidence. The return was known to be against him, yet he met Parliament in August 41, and held office until the 30th August, when a vote of want of confidence was moved and carried in the House of Commons, in amendment to the address in answer to the Speech from the Throne.

This is the constitutional course which I think ought to have been pursued by the Nova Scotia Administration.

Lord Derby formed his second Administration in February, '59, on the defeat of Lord Palmerston's first Administration, but finding himself in a minority on his Reform Bill, Lord Derby in April, '59 dissolved Parliament and appealed to the people. The elections went against him, but yet he held himself bound to meet Parliament and resign in consequence of a vote of want of confidence carried on the 9th June, 1859, in amendment to the address in answer to the Speech from the Throne.

I know of no instance since the beginning of the reign of George III (I have not thought it worth while to look before that time, inasmuch as the British Constitution as at present understood was only settled in his reign) where a ministry appealed to the people and did not await the constitutional decision in Parliament.

I may mention, as I mentioned in my note to Mr. Hill, that in 1847 I was a member of the Canadian Government. We dissolved and went to the people and were defeated at the polls—Lord Elgin then being Governor-General. He thought, and we thought, although we were beaten by a large majority, that we could not constitutionally give up our offices, which we had accepted from the Crown, until Parliament assembled and declared want of confidence. We accordingly met our fate, called Parliament as soon as we conveniently could, and submitted to a vote of confidence on the address. Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine, both good constitutional lawyers, acquiesced in the propriety of our course—indeed the course commends itself to one's reason.

As we were, from the returns, aware however that in all human probability Parliament would assume the responsibility of voting want of confidence, we felt it but right to make as few appointments as possible, and only to act in matters that were absolutely necessary for the ordinary conduct of affairs.

I very much regretted to see that the Nova Scotia Administration had sent in their resignation. That embarrasses the position very much, as it will look like a clinging to office if they reverse their course, after having accepted

the rumoured political proclivities of the new members as being a sufficient indication of want of confidence.

Believe me,
Very faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Adams G. Archibald,
Truro, Nova Scotia.

From the Hon. L. H. Holton[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Commercial Bank of Canada,
Private. *Montreal, October 15th, 1867.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Thanks for your note which expresses my own views exactly, views which I had previously expressed to our colleagues, and which reinforced by the weight of your authority would undoubtedly have prevailed if the question had not been for the moment wholly suspended by the pressure of the grave question how to sustain the Bank. The position is becoming extremely critical. Galt is here waiting for King who is expected to-morrow. I hope that Govt. deposit asked for can be got. Govt. can run no risk and the aid sought would probably avert not merely a crisis in the Commercial Bank but a crisis of a much more far-reaching character. At least three of your Upper Canada Banks would reel under the shock resulting from disaster to the Commercial. At least I fear so.

Yours faithfully,
L. H. HOLTON.

From R. J. Cartwright, Esq., M.P.,[2] *to Sir John Macdonald*

Commercial Bank of Canada,
Kingston, October 25th, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

There is every likelihood of a thorough smash among our Western friends. It appears to me very probable you will have to intervene with a few millions of legal tenders, in which case I beg to say you might as well take *our* position into consideration.

At the same time, any aid must be large to help us, say not less than a

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[1] A prominent Liberal statesman from Lower Canada. A member of the two days' Brown–Dorion administration (2nd to 4th August, 1858). Attorney General in the J. S. Macdonald–Dorion Government (1863–1864). Government director of the Grand Trunk Railway (1852–1857). An opponent of Confederation. Represented Chateauguay for many years in the House of Assembly and afterwards in the Parliament of Canada. Died, 15th March, 1880.

[2] This letter, as also the preceding from Mr. Holton, relates to the failure of the Commercial Bank, of which Mr. Cartwright was President.

million and a half now, which, with gold and produce paper in hand, would put us through.

No use speculating further on the position, but you may find it worth while considering the suggestion.

Yours truly,
R. J. CARTWRIGHT

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau[1]

Private. *Ottawa, 22nd October, 1867.*

MY DEAR CHAUVEAU,

There are several applications for letters patent for the incorporation of mining and manufacturing companies, under the General Act of *27 & 28 Vic. Chap. 23.* Cartier and I have discussed the matter and have come to the conclusion that the power to grant such letters patent is vested in the Local and not in the General Government. We have no doubt that it does not exist in the General Government, and that if it does not belong to the Local, the power does not exist at all, until there is legislation on the matter. Cartier agrees with me that the power rests with you, but a doubt may be raised, and indeed has been raised, whether you will not require some legislation.

The 11th sub-section of the 92nd clause of the Union Act vests in the Provincial Legislature the power of incorporating Companies with Provincial objects. Now the word "Provincial" evidently applies to the four Provinces established by the Union Act, and not to the three old Provinces. By our Act *27 & 28 Vic. Chap. 23* a patent of incorporation gives a corporate existence to any company receiving a charter under it, through the whole of the two Canadas; but since the Union, a charter given by the Local Government under the Act, cannot extend beyond its bounds—hence the doubt which I have mentioned.

I don't think there is much in it, but Cartier thinks it of sufficient importance, as the point has been raised, to warrant our calling your attention to it. In fact he says that the question having been mooted, he would not think it prudent himself to accept a charter without previous legislation. I

[1] The Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau. First Premier of the Province of Quebec (1867–1873). Speaker of the Senate (1873–1874). Died, 4th April, 1890.

understand that since the 1st July and during the hurry of the elections, when we were all away from head quarters, some charters have been issued by the General Government. I would suggest for your consideration the propriety of your passing an Act at your first session, confirming all the charters, and carrying through a General Incorporation Act in the spirit of the old Canadian statute to which I have referred.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

P. S. I have written Sandfield Macdonald on the subject.

The Hon. P. J. O. Chauveaux,
&c., &c., &c.

From the Archbishop of Halifax to Sir John Macdonald.

Halifax, Oct. 26, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Need I say I am most thankful for your thinking of me at all among all your unnumbered cares. I do not wish to be troublesome, but I am anxious under present circumstances to proffer my humble services to the cause of the Dominion in Nova Scotia if they can be of any use.

If Howe and his eighteen attachés can be mollified, take them in by all means, and never mind the Union minority in this Province. They will take care of themselves and appreciate your motives, as they happen to be, thank God, the most intelligent and, I will say, the only patriotic portion of our people. If Howe persists in his *repeal* chimera, there is nothing left for it but to cling to your friends here, as they will be sure to cling to you, and to increase and strengthen as they go along. If petty spite (with which this miserable spot abounds) should make a *Union martyr*—that is a *real one*—I will duly chronicle the case, and you should help him at once, as that will tell more powerfully on our belligerents than any other course that can be pursued. Arguing on this principle, Archibald should be beyond all comparison No. 1. He is our ablest, *best*, and representative man. He is a staunch Presbyterian, *blue down the back*, opposed to me on the school question and on politics generally, yet I do say he is No. 1. He has made the largest sacrifices for the cause, indeed I fear he beggared himself by the late election. He is the most detested by the Antis, and on trial you will find him equal to any position in the Dominion, if tact of a rare kind and ability of the first order, can effect it. To throw him back on his own resources just now would be disastrous to us all.

Howe called on me a few days since, and he was no longer the *hyena* of London. His victory has softened him down completely. He is heartily sick of the glorious uncertainties of politics and *he assured me in consequence*

he "would not make a bear garden of Nova Scotia." I hope he will keep his word. His plan seems to me to go as delegate to London to vindicate himself, and shew that all he said about the anti-feeling in Nova Scotia was true. If Lord Carnarvon fulfilled his promise to me that he would be provided for, all here would be union and peace. For mercy sake let him have something, if he can be induced to accept it. He has no means of living as he is, and agitate he will until his mouth is stopped. I see of course the difficulties in your way, but if you set to it in right earnest I really think of all the men in the Dominion you alone will succeed. He fancies himself grossly insulted by the press and the leading men of Canada who, in his words, represented him as a dotard, a fallen star &c. He feels sore on that delicate point, and better I think soothe him if possible as long as there is hope of his return to better counsel. It may be well to give a hint of that kind to all the leading men on the Government side. Any unprovoked onslaught in that quarter would be sure to have a bad effect here.

I am ashamed to ask you to write amid the pressing occupations by which I know your whole time is engrossed. But a line on the bearing of the antis in the House of Commons will not be only interesting to me, but it will give me another opportunity of stating to you my views on the situation. We are going through a crisis for weal or for woe, and by joint and dexterous management we are sure to succeed. McKeagney, one of the 18 antis, called yesterday and gave me most unmistakable indications of his good feelings towards the cause. It would not be difficult to convert him I know. The same may be stated of Stewart Campbell who is secretly, to my certain knowledge, an out and out Unionist. Jones[1] of Halifax is the greatest anti-Northerner, [*sic*] anti-annexationist [*sic*] in the country. He is a respectable wealthy man, but is angry with Tupper for not having put the matter to the people before he went to London. He is sharpened keen as a razor, tricky as a down-easter, and wants nothing but a little deference on the part of the Canadian authorities to bring him round. He declared himself not opposed to Union on the hustings and he

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[1] The Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones; one of the most uncompromising opponents of Confederation. Represented Halifax in the House of Commons during the first, third, and sixth Parliaments of the Dominion. Sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Militia and Defence, 21st January, 1878. Resigned on the overthrow of the Mackenzie administration, 16th October, 1878. Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 7th August, 1900, in which office he died, 15th March, 1906.

Messrs. J. C. McKeagney, E. M. Macdonald, Patrick Power, Stewart Campbell, Thomas Coffin and A. W. Savary, referred to herein by the Archbishop, were members of the House of Commons for Nova Scotia, the whole contingent from that Province (19 in number), with the exception of Dr. Tupper, having been elected at the first general elections held after Confederation, in opposition to that policy. Most of these, including J. F. Forbes of Liverpool, the member for Queens, whose name the Archbishop did not remember, subsequently came over with Howe. A. W. Savary, who later became a County Court Judge in Nova Scotia and lived to be the last surviving member, but one, of the first House of Commons, died on the 30th March, 1920.

is therefore free to act as he pleases. Of the five Catholic members for the Commons I will say no more than they are of the ultra class. All of them however may be softened down by prospects ahead, with the sole exception of Power, who is a merchant and who has strange and ungovernable feelings on all public subjects. He is death itself on Confederation. McDonald of Lunenburg, Editor of the *Citizen*, may be also brought to reason, though in language so far, he seems the most ultra of them all. The member for Liverpool, whose name I do not remember, is moderate to a degree, and I think may be easily reasoned with. The same may be said of Coffin of Shelburne, and Savary of Clare. The remaining six are of the rabid class, and may be set down among the *incurables*, unless indeed we are warranted in the hope that *extremes will meet*. But in this instance I do not believe it.

Please present my kindest remembrance to Lady Macdonald who, I hope, is well, and believe me my dear Sir John,

Yours very faithfully,

THOMAS L. CONNOLLY, ABP.[1]

From E. H. King, Esq.,[2] to Sir John Macdonald

Confidential. *Montreal, 6 Nov., 1867.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have your note of the 5th instant and shall write to Mr. Yarker this evening to take the renewal you speak of. I think it is very unfortunate that Galt should leave the Government at this particular time. I do not of course know all the private reasons that may have influenced Galt, but I think he felt, and I confess I sympathize with him, that the Government were not determined to fight out the present storm of popular and mistaken indignation on its merits, and that any wavering in the face of the enemy might have thrown over the Finance Minister as a peace offering to the passion of the hour. As for the unfortunate fiscal agents of the Government, I suppose they must bow their heads in silence—while the Government organs throughout the land join the hue and cry—seemingly released from all restraints—but judging perhaps more wisely in their generation than ourselves—of the support we may expect from the Government.

Yours very truly,

E. H. KING.

Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

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[1] Then Roman Catholic Archbishop of Halifax. A pronounced friend of union with Canada.

[2] A brilliant financier of his day. General Manager of the Bank of Montreal (1863–1869), President (1869–1873). Died, 14th April, 1896.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. P. Carteret Hill.

Private. *Ottawa, 11th November, 1867.*

My dear Sir,

I have yours of the 4th. I had not observed the notice in the Canada Gazette respecting the establishment of a Synod, and I have not the slightest notion who has inserted it. It is not a Government measure and has not yet been introduced by anybody into our Legislature. There is no chance of a coercive Bill receiving any aid or countenance from the members of Ontario and Quebec.

There is no connection in the old Province of Canada between Church and State. The Church of England holds no greater status than the Wesleyan Methodists. We have at the request of religious bodies enacted measures to give them a corporate existence, but on any objection being taken, such Bills have not been sanctioned. You may, therefore, rest perfectly satisfied that no measure contrary to the feelings of the Church of England laity in Nova Scotia, will be passed here.

We have commenced in the most amicable mood. Howe made a good humoured speech on the Address to which he moved an amendment for the purpose of defining his position. From his tone it is very evident that he will by and by be open to reason.

The speech of Dr. Tupper in reply was very much admired, and justly, for he completely used up our friend Howe. The latter while he spoke much as to the injustice suffered by Nova Scotia, avoided any statement that he was going to agitate for repeal of the Union Act. I believe Stewart Campbell makes a speech to-day when he will define his position and accept things as they are now.

I hope we shall be able to adjourn the first week in December. I am very glad that you enabled General Williams to retire with flying colours.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
John A. Macdonald.

The Hon. P. Carteret Hill,
Halifax.

From Sir John Macdonald to His Excellency the Governor of Newfoundland.

Private. *Ottawa, 27th December, 1867.*

My dear Mr. Musgrave,[1]

I have submitted to my colleagues the memoranda which you kindly sent me respecting the terms on which the Legislature of Newfoundland would probably be willing to enter the Confederation, and I am authorized to make this communication to you on the subject:–

1. The Government of Canada will be prepared to make the same concession to Newfoundland, as was extended to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia subsequently to the Quebec Conference, and to grant a proportionate sum to Newfoundland for the support of the Local Government. This sum would be in addition to the assignment of eighty cents per head on the population of 130,000 and to the sum of $150,000 for the transfer of the Crown Lands to the Central Government.

2. With respect to the public debt of Newfoundland, the Central Government agrees that the status of the creditors shall in no way be affected, that they may hold their present securities until paid off at maturity, and that no attempt will be made to force them to surrender their present securities in exchange for those of the Dominion. The creditors will, in fact, on the Union being effected still hold (?) their charge on the Revenues of Newfoundland, and have the additional guarantee of the Central Government.

3. The Central Government will, of course, be obliged to assume, with other liabilities of Newfoundland, the guarantee of the St. John's Water Company and the Harbour Grace Company.

4. The Central Government fully appreciates the importance, to Newfoundland, of regular communication by a line or lines of ocean steamers. It is, of course, impossible to make any final or fixed arrangement on this subject as a

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[1] His Excellency Anthony Musgrave, Esq. Afterward Sir Anthony Musgrave, K.C.M.G. Governor of Newfoundland (1864–1869); Governor of British Columbia (1869–1871). Died, 1880.

portion of the conditions of Union, but the Central Government will endeavour to secure for Newfoundland the advantage of regular steam communication with the rest of the Dominion and with England.

The Central Government will endeavour to provide for an efficient mail service between Halifax and St. John's, and generally to improve and extend the communication between Newfoundland and the rest of the Dominion.

5. Any bounty or privilege given to the fishermen of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, would of course be extended to Newfoundland. It would be difficult to grant to Newfoundland an exceptional remission of duty on articles imported for the use of the fisheries, as an equivalent for such bounty.

6. With respect to Militia, it will be impossible to make exceptional provision in favour of the people of Newfoundland. All the inhabitants of the Dominion should be bound to share in the defence of their common country. It is understood here, however, that a strict military organization would not be suitable to the seafaring character of the population of Newfoundland, and the services of that population would be put to much more valuable use by being organized as a marine or naval force. The militia law of the old Province of Canada, which still obtains there, provides for the formation of the seamen on the Lakes into a naval force, and they have been found of considerable value.

While it would be improper to make any stipulation that no portion of the inhabitants of Newfoundland should be called upon to serve beyond the bounds of the Island (as it would involve the necessity of making a similar provision with respect to the Militia of each province of the Dominion) it is believed that in case of war, the services of all the people of Newfoundland fit to bear arms would be required for local defence.

7. The Canadian Government have no power to prevent the removal of Her Majesty's troops from the Island, in case the Imperial Government should determine to do so. The Canadian Government, however, appreciate the advantage of maintaining in the Dominion, a sufficient force of regular troops, and they are at considerable expense in furnishing barrack accommodation for the force now in Canada. New-

foundland will, of course, have a right to share in the advantages to be derived from the presence of this force.

8. The Canadian Government will be prepared to continue the Geological survey of Newfoundland, and to assume the expense. The survey would be put under the charge of the Government geologist, Sir William Logan.

The Canadian Parliament has just granted the sum of $30,000 to defray the expense of the survey for the present year, and it is proposed to make the grant an annual one, until the survey of the whole Dominion is completed.

Although my letter is marked private, you are quite at liberty to submit it to your Council, and to give assurances to the leading men of the Legislature of Newfoundland that Canada will be prepared to meet any proposals for Union in the spirit indicated by this communication.

Believe me,
My dear Mr. Musgrave,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency,
The Governor of Newfoundland,
St. Johns.

From the Rev. Professor Williamson[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Heathfield, 31st December, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Many thanks for your kind enquiries. I am happy to say, that I am now nearly able to go about freely without any trace of injury, and expect to be in town again at college on Monday. I owe my speedy recovery in a very great degree to Margaret's patient and unwearied care. I have been more under her kind control than under even the Doctor's orders and I have just told her, that I am going to make a complaint to you, that she has been leading me a dog's life for the last six weeks.

It gave me great pleasure from day to day to mark the success of your conduct of public affairs in the first and critical Parliament of the United Provinces. I am glad to think that you are now permitted to enjoy some degree of relaxation, at least from your labours. I did intend to

[1] The Reverend James Williamson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Astronomy and Director of the Observatory, Queen's University, Kingston, was a man of scholarly attainments, deeply versed in mathematics, physical and natural sciences, besides being noted for the high degree and accuracy of his classical knowledge; of a singularly modest and retiring disposition. In 1852 he married Margaret, elder sister of Sir John Macdonald. Professor Williamson died on the 26th September, 1895.

pay a visit to Ottawa during the Xmas holidays, but as it is, I can only send to Lady Macdonald and yourself, the best wishes and compliments of the season.

Private.

I am anxious to know exactly, how it is to be with our College and Observatory grants for the last half year. Are they to be paid by the General, or the local Government? And how are they to be received in future? I should suppose, with regard to the future, that it would be better for the different Colleges to have some plan of united action. It certainly would be of the utmost benefit to the country, where a high standard of education is so desirable for the more rapid growth of its prosperity, and the franchise is so low, to have universities liberally supported at different educational centres.

One thing, however, I want at present to write to you more particularly about. It is the Observatory. We have been doing a good deal of work in it during the last year, and I wrote in the fall to Sir G. Airy under the instructions of the Senate for a set of the Greenwich observations, a perfect library in itself for our purposes, which he has since in the kindest manner forwarded, along with a number of other valuable works, to Dr. Romanes for transmission to me on behalf of the Observatory. Now what I wish to say is this. I understand, that Mr. Rose has included in the Dominion Estimates grants to the Quebec and Toronto Observatories. Why leave out, that to Kingston, a connecting link of great importance between them, the grant to which has hitherto been so small in amount, altho' absolutely necessary for the support of the Observatory, the fulfilment of our obligations to the Corporation, and, in short, its very existence. The Observatories being a Dominion matter, and it is proper that it should be so, that of Kingston ought to be included. The oversight can be easily remedied, and I earnestly trust it may yet be so. I am always,

My dear Sir John,
Yours faithfully,
Jas. Williamson.

Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.
&c., &c., &c.,
Ottawa.

PART II

1868 to 1873

PART II

1868 to 1873

THE year immediately succeeding the formation of the Dominion of Canada was largely taken up with the consideration of important questions caused by the anti-union movement in Nova Scotia which, at one time, threatened to disrupt the newly formed confederation, thus nullifying the great work upon which so much labour and care had been bestowed. At the general elections of 1867, Nova Scotia returned 18 members out of 19, pledged to do all in their power to that end.

In another volume I have published a goodly portion of the correspondence between Macdonald and Howe, in which are traced the steps whereby the latter was finally induced to lay aside his hostility and accept the new order of things.[1]

From Sir John Macdonald to the Archbishop of Halifax.

Private and Confidential. *Ottawa, 1st June, 1868.*

My dear Archbishop,

I fear I have been wofully remiss in my correspondence, but I know your kindness will excuse when you consider how much I have been overwhelmed with work during the session. We have, I am glad to say, just closed a very successful one and everything augurs well for the future.

The course of the Nova Scotian members has a good deal altered, and if the Colonial Office is only firm, and Bright

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[1] Several of Macdonald's letters to Sir Charles Tupper on the subject of Confederation appear in "The Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper," Vol. I. pp. 112–192. It has not been thought necessary to republish them here.

does not carry the House of Commons away with him, I think it probable that the reaction will set in.

Mr. McLelan[1] is still very hostile and he seems sincere—the others think only of themselves. By the way, Mr. Jones of Halifax has not shown to advantage here—he has proved himself to be utterly unreliable. He disgusted our Finance Minister much on several occasions by his private conversations being utterly at variance with his public utterances. This is *entre nous*.

From what Dr. Tupper says, I have strong hopes that Howe will take the patriotic course on his return. I shall certainly take every means in my power to aid him in doing so, and to strengthen his hands if only he will accept the inevitable and lend his powerful aid in calming the storm that he was instrumental in raising. You will see that we have conceded a good many things. We have taken off the duty on flour, corn and corn-meal, and adjusted the sugar duties with the view of encouraging direct trade with the West Indies. True, our friend Jones spoke against it, but we know the refiners, who are the best judges, consider the present rates of tariff as greatly prejudicial to their interests and previous monopoly, and I am satisfied that we have hit the right medium in this respect.

I saw your paper addressed to the Duke of Buckingham. It was a powerful appeal, and will have had, I doubt not, a very beneficial effect on his mind. . . .

My wife sends her best regards, and hopes that at no very distant day we may have the pleasure of meeting you again.

Believe me,
My dear Archbishop,
Always most sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Grace
The Archbishop of Halifax,
Halifax.

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[1] The Hon. Archibald Woodbury McLelan, another Nova Scotian who followed Howe, and filled several Cabinet offices under Sir John Macdonald. Afterwards Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, in which position he died 26th June, 1890.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. John Rose.

Ottawa, 3rd June, 1868.

My dear Rose,

An Order-in-Council has passed for the striking off of a number of the Confederation medals, and I shall write home to Messrs. Wyon by the first mail to that effect.

We have ordered them to strike:—

1 gold medal	£ 63
50 silver medals	150
500 bronze "	315
To this add cost of die	350
	£878 sterling.

There will be, besides, the cost of morocco cases. I shall get Langton to send Wyon Co., the $2,000 included in the estimates on account of this—it ought to have been remitted a year ago—and I shall tell them that you will see further about the matter on your visit to England. You will have to enquire what is usually done with these. I presume that you will send to Her Majesty a gold, silver and bronze medal.

Yours faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

The Hon. John Rose,
Montreal.

The correspondence between Lord Monck, the first Governor-General of Canada, and Sir John Macdonald, the first Prime Minister, at the time when both were engaged in laying the foundations of government in the new Dominion, is, for that reason, of exceptional interest.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to Sir John Macdonald.

Spencer Wood, July 29, 1868.

My dear Macdonald,

I have read with very great interest the accompanying letters from Tilley[1] and Archibald, which I received from Cartier this morning. They

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, K.C.M.G., C.B. One of the Fathers of Confederation, and Sir John Macdonald's chief lieutenant from New Brunswick. Minister of Customs in the first Dominion Cabinet (1867–1873). Subsequently Minister of Finance, 1873, and from 1878 to 1885. Twice Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick (1873–1878, and 1885–1893.) Died, 25th June, 1896.

make me doubly glad that you have determined to go to Halifax.[1] I think all the evidence tends to show that you should *strike while the iron is hot*, and that the iron *is* hot at the present time.

I am sure that there is great truth in the view expressed by Mr. Howe, namely, that the mere introduction into your cabinet of some of the leading members of the anti-Union party would not satisfy the bulk of their followers, and would discredit those who came in.

Some concession in the direction pointed out by Archibald would have the effect, if accepted by Howe, not only of justifying him and his friends in joining the Government, but also of disarming those, both in Nova Scotia and England, who base their opposition on the dread of Canadian (proper) oppression.

I am quite sure a few millions would be more profitably expended in this direction by the Dominion, than in erecting fortifications at Montreal or anywhere else. I think the time is critical, though I don't go the whole length of saying that I believe it the "crisis" of the Confederation, but I am sure that if you can bring in Howe, &c., with the assent of any large portion of his friends now, you will set your hands free from trouble for a long time to come, and I think this is an object for which it is worth while to make considerable sacrifices.

I think Cartier will join you at Halifax, and I daresay his presence will be of use to you. I had a telegram from Gen. Doyle[2] last night informing me of his arrival, and I send this under cover to him in order to be sure that it will reach you safely. My fear at first was that premature proposals might have been made to Howe, which he might afterwards turn into a reproach against you with his people, but all danger of that kind is now past, as he has himself proposed the interview, and as he has given you the opening, I have the fullest reliance on your judgment and discretion.

I can only wish you God speed, and hope that you will write me a line, soon, as I shall be very anxious to hear how you get on.

Believe me to be,

Most truly yours,

MONCK.

The Hon.
Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

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[1] In August, 1868, Sir John Macdonald, accompanied by Messrs. Cartier, William McDougall, Tupper and John Sandfield Macdonald, paid a visit to Halifax for the purpose of conferring with Mr. Howe, who had recently returned from England. Sir John Macdonald's report of this meeting will be found in *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 29–34.

[2] Lieutenant General Sir Charles Hastings Doyle, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick (1st July–24th October, 1867;) and Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia (1867-1873).

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Spencer Wood, August 20, 1868.*

My dear Macdonald,

I have just received a letter from the Duke of Buckingham in which he says "I feel so strongly the importance of getting a tried man to go out, that I have made another attempt to induce Mayo[1] to go. He feels an intense dislike, however, to go out in a way which would have the appearance of being sent to force the Dominion against its will to pay the large salary, and a still greater dislike that his personal position should be the bone of contention of parties during his tenure of office. Would it be possible through any private channels to sound the leaders of the Opposition to the salary, as to their views, after they shall have received information of our views at home? If they were content to intimate that they would not again moot it after the explanation given, I might possibly get over Mayo's feelings and induce him to go."

The despatch disallowing the salary Bill has come out by this mail, and I have desired a copy of it to be sent to you. I think it puts the case well.

I am very anxious that Lord Mayo should come, both because I think his position as a Cabinet minister would give prestige to the Dominion, and because from my personal knowledge of him, I am of opinion that he would be a good Governor-General. Is there any way that occurs to you in which the subject could be brought before the leaders of the Opposition so as to get from them some assurance which might remove Lord Mayo's scruples about coming? You may depend upon it, that this appointment is of greater importance to the Dominion than may at first sight appear, and is far above mere personal considerations.

My earnest desire is to get you a man whose established position in political life will reflect credit on the Dominion, and who will do your work well.

Please let me hear from you soon on this matter. You will see the despatch which accompanies the Hudson's Bay Act. I think it gives an opening to suggest a deputation from your body to England if you should consider that course advisable.

No further Fenian information has reached me.

Ever yours,

Monck.

The Hon.
Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

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[1] As Lord Monck's successor in the Governor-Generalship of Canada. Lord Mayo went instead to India, where he was assassinated, 8th February, 1872.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to Sir John Macdonald.

Spencer Wood, 1st September, 1868.

My dear Macdonald,

I got your telegram last night in reference to Gen. Butler's mission to Prince Edward Island.[1] I have not sent any message to Mr. Dundas[2] for two reasons:

1st. Because if he knows anything about his business he can give but one answer to Gen. Butler, and if he does not understand his position, he might base his refusal to hear Gen. Butler on instructions received from me, which might prejudice your negotiations at Washington.

2nd. I have no confidence in Gen. Butler, and I don't want to go out of my way to incur the chance of being brought into collision with him.

I think, on reflection, you will see that our best course is to leave Gen. Butler's mission to be dealt with by the Imperial Government. Whatever Mr. Dundas may do, he must apply for instructions to the C. O., and I think the prudent course for us is to leave the matter between him and the Duke of Buckingham. If he gets into any mess, it will strengthen the arguments on Imperial considerations for getting Prince Edward Island into the Union.

I expect we have a man-of-war or two by this time in the vicinity of St. John's.

Ever yours,

The Hon. Monck.
Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Spencer Wood, September 2, 1868.*

My dear Macdonald,

I received the accompanying series of questions from Gen. Doyle this morning. My answers would be:

1. Archbishops under the provisions of the table of precedence, rank before Bishops, without reference to the church to which they belong—there being no established church in Canada.

2. This must be referred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies; we have no authority to decide such a question.

3. I think it would be right that whenever the Lieutenant Governor has

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[1] This relates to a visit to Charlottetown in the summer of 1868 of a Committee consisting of General Benjamin F. Butler and others, appointed by the House of Representatives of the United States, with the object of promoting reciprocal Free Trade between that country and Prince Edward Island. See *Journals of the House of Assembly of P. E. Island, 1869.* App. D.

[2] George Dundas, Esquire, the Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island.

occasion to leave his Province, an administrator should be sworn in, but that in case his absence does not exceed *one month*, it should not be attended with any forfeiture of salary.

4. I think a holiday of one month in the year might be given to Lieutenant Governors without forfeiture of salary. Let me know what you think of this, and whether you do not think it right that the two latter answers should be embodied in a circular to be addressed by the Secretary of State to all the Lieutenant Governors.

While I am on this subject, there is a matter connected with the designations attached to the officers of the Dominion to which I wish to call your attention.

No *title* is given to the Speaker of the House of Commons though his place is marked in the table of precedence. In this respect he stands on the same footing as the Speaker in England. The latter officer is, however, always sworn of the Privy Council, and I should propose that a similar course should be pursued in Canada. This would give the title of "Hon." for life. It might be perhaps well that the Speaker of the Senate should be treated in a similar manner.

Let me know what you think of this and please return me Gen. Doyle's paper, as I have no copy.

Truly yours,

MONCK.

The Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Spencer Wood, September 18, 1868.*

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I received last night a telegram from the Duke of Buckingham, informing me that Sir John Young[1] has been appointed to succeed me as Governor-General. He is an intimate personal friend of my own, and I think you are fortunate to have got him. His experience, both parliamentary and official, is very extensive. He was a member of the House of Commons for, I think, more than twenty years, and, while there, filled the offices of Lord of the Treasury, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary for Ireland. He was subsequently Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, and has been for the last seven years Governor of New South Wales. I mention these particulars as you might get them into the press, and so start his name with some prestige. You will like him very much, and I think the Colonial Office deserve credit for the selection they have made, as Sir J. Young belonged to the Peelite party when he was actively engaged in English politics.

I received your telegram about the departure of the Hudson's Bay Co. delegation last night, and communicated it to the Duke of Buckingham. I send you a copy of a telegram which I received from him last night,

[1] The Rt. Hon. Sir John Young, Bart., afterwards first Baron Lisgar. Governor-General of Canada (1869–1872). Died, 6th October, 1876.

together with the answer which I propose to send. If you approve of the latter, pray despatch it by telegraph and let me know that you have done so. If you wish to make any alteration in it, *return it to me* with the change you wish to have made.

Believe me to be,
Most truly yours,
MONCK.

The Hon.
Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From R. J. Cartwright, Esq., M.P., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Kingston, September 24th, 1868.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I take it for granted that you took it for granted that my last note to you was a polite ruse to remind you of your promise. This was not the case, as your worthy confrère, Campbell, could tell you if so minded. However, I presume you will settle my little matter when the North West deputation are off.

I am in hopes Britton will pluck up heart to oppose Calvin, and get well thrashed, which will effectually dispose of him in future. By the way, I should like to know, can you rely on Calvin himself any longer than he holds his contract from the Dominion? I have seen something of him since I have been living on the Island, and have my reasons for asking. He is perhaps our best available man, and I like him very much myself, but in spite of his good service in 1863, I have some doubts how far he is to be relied on.

Morris will probably be here early next week in case you happen to be passing through and wish to see him.

Yours very truly,
R. J. CARTWRIGHT.

From Sir John Macdonald to Brown Chamberlin, Esquire, M.P.,

Ottawa, Oct. 26th, 1868.

MY DEAR CHAMBERLIN,

I duly received yours of the 2nd which I have not had time to answer hitherto, having been, as perhaps you may know, away West for some time.

I fully concur with you as to the apprehension that a conflict may, ere long, arise between the Dominion and the "States Rights" people. We must meet it however as best we may. By a firm yet patient course, I think the Dominion must win in the long run. The powers of the General Government are so much greater than those of the United States, in its relations with the local Governments, that the central power must win.

I am rather surprised at what you tell me as to the Montreal *Telegraph*, and the withdrawal of official patronage. I shall allow the matter to stand over until Cartier's return. He is so reasonable that I am sure he will reverse any action of the kind you indicate.

My own opinion is that the General Government or Parliament should pay no more regard to the status or position of the Local Governments than they would to the prospects of the ruling party in the corporation of Quebec or Montreal. So long as the dual system exists, a certain sympathy will also exist. This was beneficial at the commencement of matters and should be kept up, at all events for this parliament, until the new constitution shall have *stiffened in the mould.*

The question of the elective franchise must of necessity occupy our attention next Session.

In Ontario the present system is based on the Assessment law. Now the Assessment laws are enacted by the Local Legislature—they have already interfered with the question and intend to do so more largely next Session. It is impossible, of course, that the elective franchise should be at the mercy of a foreign body. I had hoped that they would have let the law alone for three or four years, and that the franchise might have remained undisturbed until near the next General Election. This cannot be, however, now, so we must deal with it. What think you of a committee, appointed on the first day of the Session? Personally, I have no objection, indeed I have rather a fancy for fancy franchises, but I do not think we can educate our people up to it. I hope, *entre nous*, to be able to submit a measure for the establishment of a great Dominion court of justice, with original as well as appellate jurisdiction.

You have reason to congratulate yourself upon the line you took in Parliament as to extradition: I understand that Lord Stanley and Reverdy Johnson have come to an arrangement on the matter which is now before the United States Government for sanction.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Brown Chamberlin, M.P.,
The Knap Farm,
Dunham.

From Governor-General the Viscount Monck to Sir John Macdonald

Spencer Wood, October 29, 1868.

My dear Macdonald,

. . . With regard to the appointment of Privy Councillors, I am ignorant of the precise form of procedure adopted in England, yet I can easily obtain all the information you require as soon as I go home. In the meantime it appears to me that my invitation to each member to come forward and take the oaths at the Council table would be considered a sufficient "summoning" to meet the requirements of the Act of Union. The book of the Clerk of the Council, in which the members subscribe the oaths would, in itself, as it appears to me, constitute a roll of the Council; yet if that is not considered sufficient, I see no difficulty in now making out a roll of the names of all persons sworn of the Council since the Act of Union came into operation, and I could place my signature opposite each name

It might be in this form:

ROLL of the P. C. of CANADA

Name of P.C.	*Date when sworn*	*Signature of G.G.*

I think it is better to make no allusion in the roll to the summons. The Act prescribes no mode of performing this process, and the fact that each man has been sworn by me, seems to me to imply that the summons has been given in some manner. If you agree in these views, you can have the roll prepared and sent to me.

I have received to-day a copy of H. M.'s warrant assigning Armorial Bearings to the Dominion and to the several provinces. I have referred it to you to consider what steps should be taken to carry the warrant into effect. It appears to me that nothing is necessary except to publish the despatch and warrant in the Gazette and communicate it officially to the Lt. Governors. You will, however, observe in the warrant, a direction about the Great Seal of the Dominion which, unless the seal now in use formed the basis for the directions now given, will render necessary a new great seal.

You will remember that when I brought out the present seal, we were told that it was intended to be replaced at some future time by a handsomer article.

I will take special care that no use shall be made of Rose's report which can embarrass him in his dealings with the Nova Scotians. I entirely agree with you that he should be left quite free to take any line with them which circumstances may render desirable.

Believe me to be,
Most truly yours,
Monck.

The Hon.
Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Edward Blake, Esq., M.P.,[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Private *Toronto, November 30th, 1868.*

My dear Sir,

You may have observed that the Assembly passed a bill giving the Assembly and its members the rights, privileges, powers and immunities of the House of Commons of Canada and its members.

The decisions in the Privy Council show clearly that Colonial Legislatures (though possessing inherently the power to do all things necessary to preserve order) have no inherent right to these privileges, etc., nor any rights, by analogy, to the English House.

The Imperial Act of 1865 gives power to a colonial legislature to declare its powers, but goes no further. The B. N. A. Act, under the title "Legislative power", gives the Canadian House power to define the privileges, etc., of the House and its members, not exceeding those of the English House and its members.—It gives no such powers to the Ontario Legislature. Consequently that Legislature takes the power, if at all, by virtue of the Act of 1865 or of its inherent rights. The well known rules of construction applied to the B.N.A. Act, forbid the idea that this Legislature can have such a power.

The other view necessarily invites the proposition that this Legislature has powers to create rights, privileges, etc., in excess of those enjoyed by the Imperial Parliament, while the Canadian House is limited to the express provisions. I pressed on McDonald the inexpedience of such legislation and recorded my views ultimately.

Will you look at the report of the debate on the 2nd reading and also on the 3rd reading? McDonald (J.S.) admits that he is probably wrong, and leaves it to your Government to set him right. You know I do not agree in this way of managing matters, but as he has chosen to adopt it, I have taken the liberty of calling your attention to the Act.

I am sorry to say he has succeeded in passing a bill abolishing dower in all lands which were wild at the alienation by the husband, or at his death, *with a retroactive operation*. This is most dangerous legislation, and I do not know where it is to end, but of course it is of a character different from that to which I have first alluded, so far as your functions are concerned.

Yours truly,
Edward Blake.

The Hon.
Sir J. A. Macdonald,
Ottawa.

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[1] Then leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald being leader of the Government.

From Sir John Macdonald to Edward Blake Esq. M.P.

Private. *Ottawa, December 11th, 1868.*

My dear Blake,

Thanks for yours of the 30th. I observed the Bill giving the Assembly and its members the privileges and immunities of the House of Commons of Canada and its members.

I think that Sandfield Macdonald is not acting wisely in pressing through legislation which he has not ascertained to be within the powers of the Local Legislature. In this case he seems almost to admit that he is aware that he has no such right. The Act being *ultra vires*, is mere waste paper, and the courts would be obliged to hold in case the Speaker, or the House, or a member of it attempted to use it as a shield, that it was no protection. It would be a matter of grave consideration hereafter by the General Government whether to leave the Act to be dealt with by the courts, or to disallow it as being in excess of jurisdiction.

I quite agree with you also as to the propriety of the *ex post facto* clause you mention in the dower bill.

I am afraid the general principles on which legislation should be conducted, have not much weight with the majority in your House.

I received a letter the other day from a judge calling my attention to the Act diminishing the number of the terms in Quarter Sessions, and pointing out that such a change is a change in *procedure*—that the Local Government have the power to constitute the courts, as, for instance, to say whether the Quarter Sessions shall be presided over by a bench of magistrates or by a single judge; but that the mode of trial, the time of trial and all incidents of trial are of necessity, procedure. If this view be correct, the first thief who is tried at Quarter Sessions under the Act may perhaps raise the point successfully.

Please look at the Bill altering the tenure of office of the County Court judges, and making them liable to dismissal by the Governor.

Now the right of *appointment* rests with the General Government, and it has always been held in practice, and it is expressly provided in the Interpretation Act, that the right

of appointment involves that of dismissal. Look at the consequence of a different doctrine! The General Government is responsible for the appointment of efficient men to the judiciary; they *do* appoint a county judge under that responsibility—the Lt. Governor dismisses him. Unless a case is made out to the General Government showing that the original appointment was wrong, or that the subsequent conduct of the judge has shown that he has not justified the good opinions which secured him the appointment; as a matter of justice to their own officer, the party so dismissed must be reappointed, and an inconvenient conflict must at once arise.

It is, I think, a matter of but secondary importance whether in the cases of conflict of jurisdiction that have arisen or been suggested under the Union Act, they are decided in favour of one government or the other. It is however of the greatest consequence that neither government nor Legislature should knowingly outstep its jurisdiction.

All this for your own eye.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Edward Blake, Esq., M.P.,
Toronto.

From Sir John Macdonald to Major-General Sir Hastings Doyle.

Private. *Ottawa December 28th, 1868.*

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I quite agree with you that all present indications show that an election in Nova Scotia just now would be premature. The people must, to use Disraeli's phrase, be educated up to it, before an appeal can be made. Howe has sown the seed, and I have no doubt it will fructify. Meanwhile you will have no comfort with these people Messrs. Wilkins & Co.; but after having suffered so long, you can afford to do so a little longer.

A very decided despatch in answer to the Minute of your Council and Lord Monck's despatch thereon has come out, and you will receive it, I suppose this mail. It is a direct appeal to the loyalty of Nova Scotia, and if properly handled may be of great service.

Your despatch of the end of October was, in consequence of Lord Monck's approaching departure, forgotten in his office, and I only accidentally laid hands on it after Sir John Young's arrival. He, of course, at once transmitted it. Since then I have shown him your note to me, pressing for an immediate answer, and he has conveyed your opinion, together with a strong endorsation from us, to the new Secretary of State. The delay is exceedingly fortunate, as we shall now have the answers of both Governments pooh poohing the repeal movement.

I am glad that you think that it is not wise for Rose to go to Halifax just now. I have urged that view on Howe and McLelan. If he visits Halifax, he must put himself in communication with your Government, and if any arrangement be made, Annand[1] and Wilkins[1] will get the prestige and credit of it instead of Howe.

There is a natural reluctance on Howe's part, to leave home at present while the discussion is raging. I hope, however, in a few days, to hear from Washington that negotiations for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty will recommence. In such case Howe is pledged to go to Washington and he must take Ottawa en route, in order to receive instructions from the Government.

The language of the *Morning Chronicle* is seditious if not treasonable. It is well that it is so, as it gives you the opportunity at any time, when matters are rife, of calling upon Annand to disavow the sentiments expressed in it, or take the consequences.

Let me congratulate you on the K.C.M.G. It ought to have been K.C.B., but that will undoubtedly come ere the termination of your Government.

Believe me,
My dear General,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
General Doyle, K.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.,

[1] At the date of this letter William Annand and Martin I. Wilkins were respectively Premier and Attorney General of Nova Scotia, both bitterly hostile to Confederation.

From Sir John Macdonald to D. Morrison, Esq.,[1]

Private. *Ottawa, December 30th, 1868.*

My dear Morrison,

I send you the Halifax *Citizen* of the 22nd, the editor and proprietor of which is, as you know, E. M. Macdonald, M.P. for Lunenburg.

He is an anti-Confederate, but goes for moderate counsels. He would follow Howe to the utmost extent were he not Queen's Printer, and like a sensible man he does not want to lose his office if he can avoid it. But still, I think that when the necessity comes, he will sacrifice his office in order to support Howe.

You will see how he pitches into Brown. The Liberals in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have never forgiven Brown the Coalition of 1864. They were acting as one party through the whole of the colonies, and they thought that Brown's joining the Conservatives in 64, without consulting them, was a breach of faith. However that may be, it is certain that they entertain no good will towards him. I leave the article for your manipulation.

Yours faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

D. Morrison, Esq.,
Daily Telegraph Office.
Toronto.

From S. H. Strong, Esq.,[2] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

No. 2 Wellington Chambers,
Toronto, December 30th, 1868.

My dear Sir John.

I have made a good deal of progress with my draft, though I have not yet begun to print. I find it a much more difficult work than I expected. My difficulty is in finding enough for the Court to do in the way of original jurisdiction. When I saw you here last summer you objected to giving Admiralty jurisdiction, but the more I consider the matter, the more I

[1] Editor, in turn, of the *Colonist*, *Leader*, and *Daily Telegraph*, Conservative newspapers once published in Toronto, all long since defunct.

[2] Afterwards the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Henry Strong, Kt., Chief Justice of Canada, (1892–1902). Sworn of His Majesty's Privy Council 7th July, 1897. Died, 31st August, 1910. This letter relates to early drafts of a bill to establish a Supreme Court for Canada.

am led to think that it is desirable to give the Court precisely the same Admiralty jurisdiction that the Supreme Court of the U. S. possesses. This would, of course, require Imperial legislation, but that, in any event, must be had. If it were not for the expense, I should have liked to have gone to Washington to have made some enquiries as to the practice of the Supreme Court and U. S. Circuit Courts, which I cannot find in the only work treating of the U. S. Courts I can get, but I suppose you would not like to authorize me to incur the expenditure.

As the Imperial session will begin in February whilst yours, I suppose, will be at least a month later, would it not be well to have a draft of an Act sent home at once? I do not like the plan of passing an Act *ultra vires* of our Parliament, with a provision that it shall be brought into force by proclamation, on an enabling Act being passed by the Imperial Parliament. I fear such a course is hardly constitutional, but this I believe is what Mr. J. H. Cameron has suggested. There could, however, be no objection to introducing the bill here and carrying it through its different stages, whilst a bill authorizing the legislation was being carried through in England, relying on the certainty of the English Act being assented to first.

As soon as our Court of Appeals, which sits to-morrow, is over, I will go to Ottawa to confer with you and take your instructions on some points of doubt.

I trust, however, you will be inclined to look favourably on the question of admiralty jurisdiction.

Yours very truly,
S. H. Strong.

The Hon.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to E. A. Meredith, Esq.[1]

Ottawa, December 31st, 1868.

My dear Meredith,

I enclose you Moody's letter. You can inform him unofficially that my opinion is that the pardoning power for offences great and small, rests purely with the Governor-General. I always thought that it should be vested in the Lieutenant-Governors for the sake of convenience, but that is not the question. The Home Government positively refused to confer any such power.

I have prepared an opinion on the subject which Sir John Young has transmitted to England for the purpose of obtaining the opinion of Her Majesty's Law Officers, the

[1] At that time Under-Secretary of State for the Provinces.

decision of the Government thereof, and full instructions as to his future course on the subject. The answers, of course, will be communicated to all the Provincial Governments.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

E. A. Meredith, Esq.,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Joseph Howe.

Confidential. *Ottawa, January 12, 1869.*

MY DEAR HOWE,

I have yours of the 4th. The victory has, as you say, been decidedly won. The question now is, how to follow it up.

So long as Annand and Wilkins keep in power, you will have an unsettled state of feeling in Nova Scotia, and one does not well see how they can be got rid of at present. Your people are not yet educated up sufficiently to warrant a new election! The expected despatch from Lord Granville will force the Local Government to take some decided step, and if they proceed to violence, it might then be safer to appeal to the people. I am in daily expectation of receiving the despatch. We sent a cable message the other day to Lord Granville on the subject.

Rose, who will give you this, will meet you with a strong and sincere desire to come to some satisfactory arrangement. I need not, however, caution an experienced statesman like yourself, not to ask for too much. We shall have our own difficulties with the General Parliament in carrying *any* concessions. Already has George Brown, through the *Globe*, protested against any pecuniary advantages being given to Nova Scotia, beyond those secured to them by the Union Act. This course will not at all deter us here from agreeing to what is reasonable, and staking our existence upon it in the Legislature.

The Province of Quebec, whose Government is the reverse of economical, will, we fear, attempt to put on the screws for additional pecuniary aid if it is granted to you. So you see that we must take great care as to every step we take.

I have no doubt that you and Rose will find common standing ground, but whatever you agree upon must be

kept strictly a secret. If divulged prematurely, the Opposition press in Ontario will protest against any additional charges being put upon the people of that Province, which, it is alleged, from its greater wealth, already bears more than its fair share of the public burdens. In Quebec, the united press will demand a slice for that Province, and all the anti-papers in Nova Scotia will denounce the arrangement as being altogether insufficient and unsatisfactory, and you will have the usual charge brought against you of "selling your heritage for a mess of pottage," &c.

It will be very difficult I know, for you, on your return, to resist the pressure of your friends to disclose the arrangement; but the answer should be satisfactory, that any arrangement with the Government is of no value until sanctioned by Parliament, and that we, having the responsibility of carrying it, should have the opportunity of submitting it to the public and Parliament at our own time, and in our own way.

Entre nous, I propose that we should carry a composite measure *per saltum*. This measure to embrace the terms of union with Newfoundland, the financial grants to Nova Scotia, and an authority to the Government to grant a sum, not exceeding £200,000 to Prince Edward Island, on its coming into the Union. Such a measure, having for its principle and basis the extension and completion of the whole Confederation scheme, will be so taken as to ensure success. Rose will discuss this with you fully.

I notice what you say about the patronage. So anxious am I for the pacification of Nova Scotia, and so convinced that it can only be done through your patriotic exertions, that I am quite willing to depart from the usual constitutional course and to consult you as to the principal appointments in Nova Scotia, although you are not yet responsible for the advice you give.

In the present aspect of affairs, where success can only be obtained by a junction of the moderates, both of anti and Union antecedents, it will be advisable to distribute the offices impartially between both sections. We have hitherto made no important appointments in Nova Scotia in order to keep the door open, and latterly have consulted, to a certain extent, such men as Ray, Savary, McKeagney, &c., in their

respective localities; and I have arranged with my colleagues to inform me of any vacancies in their several Departments, so that I can keep a *roster* of affairs and consult with you thereupon.

The vacancy in the Senate should at once be filled up, and the choice should decidedly be from among your own supporters. I had thought of poor Almon, but he has received higher promotion. Pray talk this matter over with Rose. We have no constitutional right to keep a seat in the Senate vacant, as it disturbs the equality of representation settled by the Union Act.

I look forward to having some fun about the judgeship to be vacated by Mr. Bliss. You need not be at all alarmed at my recommending Mr. Wilkins for the office. I have always laid down with respect to the judiciary, the principle that no amount of political pressure shall induce me to appoint an incompetent or unworthy judge. Still, it will do no harm to play Master Wilkins like a trout. When a vacancy really does take place on the Bench, I think A. G. Archibald will have the first claim upon us here, and of his fitness there can be no doubt, both as to knowledge and respectability. I am glad to believe that you and he are on such terms now as to induce you to look upon the appointment with complacency.

We shall want, whenever you are ready, a Railway commissioner. Walsh of Ontario is the Parliamentary commissioner, so the Nova Scotian must either be out of Parliament or in the Senate.

There are other offices which might be filled up, but which can stand over until things are further advanced.

Believe me,
My dear Howe,
Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon.
Joseph Howe,
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

From L. S. Huntington, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal, January 26th, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

The bearer, Mr. W. J. Johnstone, is in Ottawa seeking an Intercolonial contract. He is a first rate man—reliable and experienced, and will carry

out whatever he undertakes, to the letter. I am sure he is just the kind of man you want to encourage in connection with that great work, and I trust you will, therefore, pardon me for thus introducing him to your notice. Anything you may do to further his views will be, I am sure, in the public interest, as well as a personal favour to

My dear Sir John

Yours faithfully,

L. S. HUNTINGTON.

The Hon.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,
Ottawa.

From the Hon. Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

Halifax, February 1st, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I need not tell you how much gratification your telegram that Howe had been sworn of the Council gave me. I have never feared that he would attempt to recede, but I have always felt that there was danger of the antis joining the Opposition *en masse*. The news has created a good deal of excitement here, but if Howe plays his cards well, in thirty days we shall be able to carry the country from end to end. I have no fear of his success in Hants, although the rabid ones threaten loudly to-day. It is a little awkward that he has no organ, and the *Citizen* has backed and filled until I fear it can be of little service to anybody. I send you the leader written for to-morrow's *Colonist*, in which I had to announce the fact of Howe's acceptance of office, and hope you will like the way I have dealt with it. It requires delicate handling from our standpoint, but I found a good many of our quasi friends inclined to do mischief, and felt it was necessary to take a decided stand in order to keep them right. I must apologize for introducing people to you, which I cannot help, but will write privately at the same time when I am desirous of action being taken. I am sorry Blanchard is going to Ottawa, as I suppose, in the interest of railway people who are not likely to do much for themselves or anybody else.

I enclose a letter received from W. H. Townsend, M.P.P., for Yarmouth, and agree with him that as the antis have a good deal of money but are now completely disorganized, the writ cannot issue too soon. The chances are good, and at all events we will show an overwhelming change in that constituency, which is the worst in the Province.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER

The Hon.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,

[1] The Hon. Lucius Seth Huntington, M.P. for Shefford, President of the Privy Council (1874–1875), and afterwards (1875–1878) Postmaster General in Mr. Mackenzie's administration. Died, 19th May, 1886.

The following is in reply to a letter from Sir Hastings Doyle as to the ceremonial recognition of the office of Lieutenant-Governor.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

Private. *Ottawa, 1st February, 1869.*

My dear Sir Hastings,

I duly received yours of the 22nd on the subject of the discontinuance of military honours to Lieutenant Governors.

I had not an opportunity of speaking to Sir John Young on the subject before he went to Montreal this morning. I shall see him on his return. Meanwhile I must inform you that any orders respecting the discontinuance of salutes, guards of honour or other military honours have been made without reference to or consultation with the Canadian Government.

We were never asked any questions about it and it was as great a surprise to us as to you. If Lord Monck was consulted by the War Office or the Colonial Office on the subject, he never mentioned it to any of us here.

I think that this kind of thing may be carried too far and cause a feeling of irritation in the Provinces. The rule has been made, I presume, on the assumption that since the Union, the Lieutenant Governors are civilians, holding no direct commission from Her Majesty, and not being at the head of the Militia or in any way connected with the military force.

This mail will take you the despatch of Lord Granville, which is admirably expressed and finally gives the death blow to repeal. Howe goes down in good spirits and with a favourable settlement in his pocket.

I think that now Annand and your Government can well accept the situation.

When the present Government in England, which includes John Bright, say that they will not propose nor will the British Parliament entertain any application for the repeal

of the Union Act, the repeal cause is hopeless, and there is no reason why they should not come out and boldly avow that they submit to the inevitable. I think with your tact you can bring them to the point, and then indeed you may consider that you have fulfilled the great object of your mission and have finally disposed of the corpse of the "dead Indian."

Lady Macdonald sends her best regards.

Believe me,
My dear Sir Hastings,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Hastings Doyle, K.C.M.G.,
Halifax.

From Sir John Macdonald to James O'Reilly, Esq.,[1]

Private. *Ottawa, 12th February, 1869.*

MY DEAR O'REILLY,

You will see by the papers that Whelan said nothing on the scaffold. He left a short paper stating that neither Doyle nor Buckley participated in the murder, which he signed before O'Gara and Lees. In conversation with them he freely admitted his presence at the murder, [as] he did to Goodwin, and on several occasions to the Sheriff and Governor of the gaol, but he always denied that he fired the shot. I am satisfied that he did fire the shot, and that that fact is the reason that he did not offer to turn Queen's evidence. I attach no importance to the written statement. It has evidently been dictated by some superstitious feeling that as he had taken away one life, he would make amends by endeavouring to save two. The body was to have been given up to Mrs. Whelan, but information having arrived that there was going to be a great Fenian demonstration over the corpse at Montreal on its arrival, which would inevitably lead to bloodshed, it has, I believe, been buried within the precincts of the prison, the ground being blessed and Christian

[1] Crown Prosecutor at the trial of Patrick James Whelan who was convicted of the murder of Thomas D'arcy McGee, and executed at Ottawa, 11th February, 1869.

funeral given, attended by the clergyman who was with him at the last. This was the arrangement last night when I went to bed, and I presume it was carried out this morning.

Thanks for your congratulations.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

James O'Reilly, Esq.,
Kingston.

P. S. to the effect that priest having declined to attend, body was buried without rites of Church.

From Sir John Macdonald to The Hon. D. L. Macpherson.

Confidential. *Ottawa, 16th February, 1869.*

MY DEAR MCPHERSON,

I have long thought that a good paper of a Liberal Conservative cast was greatly required at Toronto—in fact I thought that the object was achieved. Howland went into the matter cordially and it was understood that some $10,000 was to have been raised for the purpose of enabling White to transfer the Hamilton *Spectator* to your city.

The negotiation was in a very promising state when I was suddenly called upon last summer to leave Toronto for Halifax. I was absent for two months, and in the interval the Henry Howland fiasco took place and the whole thing came to an end.

I am strongly in favor of a resuscitation of the project. The most feasible plan would be to make the arrangement that you suggest with Beaty, leaving him an interest in the paper, but not a controlling one, and he retiring altogether from the management.

I think that White[1] is your best man, and from all I hear of Belford,[2] the two would make the thing work. I have the greatest confidence in White's judgment, as well as in his political principles. He is a Conservative in the best sense

[1] Thomas White, then of the Hamilton *Spectator*, afterwards of the Montreal *Gazette*, and subsequently Minister of the Interior. Mr. White did not go to Toronto, but Mr. Belford became the first editor of the *Mail* newspaper, established there in 1872.

[2] Charles Belford, a Toronto journalist; connected originally with the *Leader;* afterwards first editor of the *Mail;* founded *Belford's* magazine.

of the word, and yet truly liberal. The paper should be of as liberal a tone as is compatible with its support and maintenance by the Conservative party.

White's connection with it will be a guarantee of that party, and will be quite satisfactory to myself. I would feel assured that the paper would be written with a sincere desire to create and strengthen a great middle or constitutional party. At the same time, White being there would give me a satisfactory assurance that in case we were forced by the violence of the Grit party into a resumption of old party lines, the paper would remain Conservative and not be an additional weapon in the hands of the enemy.

Your difficulty will be with Beaty, but I think your personal influence with him and the threat of a powerful paper, would induce him to give up the reins which he is utterly unable to hold.

The matter should be kept quite secret until fully matured. How it got into the papers before, I do not know, but it was injurious to the *Spectator*. The rumour would arouse the enmity of both the *Leader* and *Telegraph*.

I shall be happy to join in aiding the enterprise as much as I can.

Yours very faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Hon. D. L. McPherson,
Toronto.

From Sir George Cartier to Sir John Macdonald.

Private *London, Westminster Palace Hotel, February, 1869.*

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I thank you every much for your cable telegram, by which I learnt with great pleasure and satisfaction that Howe was one of our colleagues. It pleased also McDougall[1] very much. I have duly received your last letter and that of Langevin respecting the progress of Militia matters. Give my thanks to Langevin for me. We have not as yet placed our paper in the hands of Earl Granville. It will be ready in a day or two. It will be a long document discussing the whole question in its diverse aspects.

[1] Sir George Cartier and the Hon. William McDougall were at that time together in England, negotiating with Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company for the transfer of Rupert's Land and the North West Territory to Canada.

I have had to obtain from the Colonial Office all the correspondence and despatches about it since 1858. McDougall and myself continue to agree very well. I had an interview with Lord Granville on Tuesday last. He asked me if we would be ready to give a sum of money and what sum. I told him that I was not ready to give him an answer on that subject just now, as I had not discussed the matter with McDougall, and as very likely we will have a reference to a money payment in our paper. I regret not having more to report to you to-day. It will be impossible for us to think of sailing before the 23rd instant. We will get our paper confidentially printed for the use of our friends in both Houses. I went on Saturday last to Highclere Castle at Lord Carnarvon's. I refreshed Lord Carnarvon's memory about Hudson's Bay matters. He will be a good friend in case of a discussion in the House of Lords. As a matter of course we will see Gladstone after our paper is put in. Lord Granville was delighted to hear that Howe had become one of our colleagues. I then told him that he must help us to settle the Hudson's Bay matter to complete the whole work of Confederation. The Liberal Government is, I am afraid, very slow at arriving at a conclusion. I have just received yours of the 24th January last. I thank you for it and the details you give me. . . .

Excuse these hasty lines.

My kindest regards to our colleagues and my special kind remembrances to Lady Macdonald, and believe me, my dear Macdonald,

Your devoted colleague,

GEO. ET. CARTIER.

The Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.
Ottawa

From Sir George Cartier to Sir John Macdonald

Private.

Westminster Palace Hotel,
Saturday, 6th March, 1869.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I have some additional doings to report to you on the Hudson Bay matter. Saturday last we had our interview with Lord Granville (who, by the by, goes here under the nickname of "Pussy," on account, very likely, of his bland or soft manners). Lord Granville had us in one room and the H. B. people in another. He made to us in confidence, as he said, proposals of settlement which he would get assented to by the Company if we agreed to them. McDougall and I, after due consideration, came to the conclusion to reject them. I don't give the details of what then passed. It would be too long to do so in writing. On Thursday last Lord Granville sent to us a note in which he said he would try again to settle the matter on the basis of some modified proposals, if we are willing to encourage him in so doing. We are to have an interview with him this afternoon on that subject. As you may imagine, that interview must be a decisive one on the question of settlement or no settlement. My dear Macdonald, I am acting as cautiously and moderately as possible. I am happy to report to you that generally McDougall and myself are in

perfect accord. You must have seen by the tenor of my letters that we were in better hands with the last ministry to settle the H. B. question. I am preparing to sail on the 18th instant by the *North American*. McDougall intends going by the *Cunard* with his daughter. I have a *grievance* against you. I saw by a stray paper from Canada that Lady Macdonald was safely delivered of a daughter. You know, my dear Macdonald, how I feel interested in my friends, and in everything that concerns them, and particularly in such friend as you stand to me, and I would have liked that you should have dropped me a line to tell me of the happy event. However, as you know, I am such a good friend that I am ready to take everything *du bon coté*, from a friend. I presume you were so joyful, that entirely absorbed in your paternal delight you forgot to write to a friend who would have been so pleased to rejoice with you. Give my sincere congratulations to Lady Macdonald. With regard to you, you have a son and a daughter. I wish one of my girls was a son; but it is no use to grieve about things upon which one has no control.

My kind regards to our colleagues, and believe me, my dear Macdonald, as always,

Your devoted colleague,
GEO. ET. CARTIER.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.,
Ottawa.

From Edward Blake, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

House of Commons, 7 June, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

You were kind enough to propose that I should look over the correspondence, &c., &c., touching the Ontario Acts, in order that I might determine whether to press for an answer to the address. Will you kindly let me see them to-day if possible?

Of course, you will understand that I feel myself free to refer in the House to the general understanding which exists as to the character of the correspondence, if I should think it for the public interest to do so.

Yours faithfully,
EDWARD BLAKE.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.,

In the early part of 1869, Mr. John Rose, then Minister of Finance, proceeded to Washington on the invitation of the Secretary of State of the United States, for the purpose of conferring with him upon the subject of a new reciprocity treaty with regard to Canada between Great Britain and the United States, the old reciprocity treaty between the two countries concluded in 1854 having been terminated by the United States in 1866. For a report on this negotiation,

which came to nothing, see despatch (confidential) from Mr. Thornton to the Earl of Clarendon, dated 12th July, 1869.

From the Hon. John Rose to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Washington, Thursday P. M., 8th June, 1869.*

Dear Macdonald,

I arrived here after a hot, unbroken journey of nearly 40 hours, and at once saw Mr. Thornton.[1] We went over the ground together and he went with me to Mr. Fish,[2] from whom I have just parted after a three hours interview. We are to meet again after the Cabinet to-morrow, with Mr. Boutwell, the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Fish was very guarded and reserved—expressed himself sincerely anxious to bring about more liberal commercial relations—but feared that it could only be done through the House of Representatives, and that any attempt on the part of the Executive to deal with that subject would be likely to be resented, and thus any action now would do more harm than good. I urged that the House had actually devolved that duty on the Executive; but he intimated—at least I so understood him—that there was a sort of monition that nothing should be done under the resolution which was only passed to please some members of the Committee, and that it was agreed to by General Schenck[3] and others on that understanding. However, I will advise myself more fully of this in other quarters before I come to any conclusion.

He spoke of remitting the whole affair to Congress, but I pointed out to him that the questions of the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the Fisheries must be dealt with by *Treaty*, and that it might be possible to make provisional arrangements now, subject to the approval of the House of Representatives of the Tariff part of it, and that if disapproved, the whole Treaty should fall. He then suggested that it would be desirable to have some members of the Committee of Ways and Means to assist in the details, if we went on now. This would be very well as securing their assistance in the House, but, unfortunately, Schenck is in Europe, Hooper in California, and other leading members are qually inaccessible. It ended in our arranging a further interview to-morrow. He seemed to fear the loss to the Revenue of the duties, especially on fish, but I pointed out to him that their own returns only showed a collection

from Canadian salmon of	$18,600
other fish in barrels	37,000
" " " weight	32,500
Total	$88,100

He said these tables must be wrong; but we will have all that up to-morrow.

[1] Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Thornton, G.C.B., was at that time the British Minister in Washington.

[2] The Hon. Hamilton Fish was Secretary of State of the United States.

[3] General Schenck was afterwards one of the American members of the International Joint High Commission which met in Washington in 1871.

I told him we could not continue the *considerate* policy we had pursued ever since the Treaty was repealed, much longer; that public opinion would not sustain any Government in continuing to overlook the immediate interest of their own people; that we had been more than friendly in our efforts to prevent illicit trade springing up on the frontier; that we had almost winked at the fishermen exercising their vocations without payment of license dues; that we rarely enquired into the nationality of vessels going through the Canals; that we had resisted the imposition of duties on their products such as coal, salt, hops, flour, etc., and that unless there was very practical evidence now of a desire to liberalise our trade relations, they must be prepared for a very different policy at the hands of *any* Government of Canada.

I told him besides that they must not suppose we were dependent on it; that our people had found and were pushing their staples into new markets, and that the trade in many things which was formerly done through the U. S. is now being done partly by Americans in Canada direct with foreign countries (witness the lumber shipments to South America from Three Rivers), and that in regard to many of the most important staples the export to the U. S. had increased and the prices had not fallen since the Treaty was repealed, etc.

Mr. Thornton thinks an impression was made, but I am not so sanguine. Time will tell. I will report more after our interview to-morrow. The heat here is worse than I have ever felt it in this world, or hope to find in the next. I will apprise you of my moves and if I can make any headway, I shall remain here as long as necessary.

Believe me to be,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN ROSE.

From the Hon. A. T. Galt to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Montreal, 24th June, 1869.*

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I have decided to go to England by the ship of the 3rd or at latest the 10th. It has occured to me that it might be well to ascertain whether influential parties could be found to undertake the Red River and Pacific Railroad. Do you think the Government would be disposed to indicate by an O. in C. something like the terms they would recommend to Parliament if undertaken by responsible parties? If you thought this practicable, it might be based upon a letter from myself to you enquiring whether the Government would be disposed to entertain an offer to build the R.R. if submitted by responsible parties. I think $15,000 per mile, and 10 or 12,000 acres of land would be sufficient inducement.

I shall return to Sherbrooke on Monday, when I wish you would write me.

Can I do anything for you in England?

Yours faithfully,
A. T. GALT.

Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to W. H. Needham, Esq.,

Ottawa, 9th July, 1869.

My dear Sir,

I fear I have been guilty of great neglect in not answering your two letters. They arrived during the session when every moment was occupied, and as they did not call upon me to reply, I laid them aside until they were forgotten.

The question of the equalization of judges' salaries is one of the very greatest difficulty, so great that the Government here found they were obliged to postpone the consideration of it for another session. We were overcrowded with business of the first and most pressing importance, and, as it was, the session was too long protracted—so much so indeed that we had great trouble in keeping the members here. We hope to meet in February and to be able to consider the question fully.

It is a great mistake, however, to suppose that the rank of a judge is fixed by his salary. The judges of the Superior Courts of England, Scotland and Ireland are all men of the highest judicial rank, and perform the highest description of judicial duty, and yet the salaries are not at all equalized. For instance—an English *puisne* judge has a higher salary than the Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland, who takes higher rank than the former, and so with respect to Ireland.

It is impossible to carry out the principle of equalization of judicial salaries. In the first place, the salaries of the judges of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec vary in amount, although they hold the same rank, and should British Columbia join us with a population of an Upper Canadian county, we should be obliged to give salaries altogether inadequate to the status or wants of that Colony.

So with the Hudson's Bay Territory, where there are scarcely more than 10,000 settled inhabitants. However, as I said before, the whole question will be considered by the Government previous to next session, with every desire to do what they consider justice.

Now that our Parliament is prorogued, I shall take up the Western Extension Bill passed by your Legislature, and report upon it. The principle, however, that we have

proceeded upon is to allow each province the full power of self-government and self-legislation consistent with the Confederation Act and the Royal Instructions. I do not think that the Government here should be a Court of Appeal against the decision of the Local Legislatures.

I believe that I had the pleasure of meeting you in 1846, on the occasion you refer to—in the Grand Lodge—and I shall be very happy to have the opportunity of renewing our acquaintance.

Believe me,
My dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Wm. H. Needham, Esq., M.P.P.,
Fredericton, New Brunswick.

The appointment of Mr. W. P. Howland to the Lieutenant Governorship of Ontario, and the impending retirement of Mr. William McDougall, compelled Sir John Macdonald, in the summer of 1869, to look about for their successors in the Cabinet. These two gentlemen comprised the reform element from Ontario in the ministry, and Sir John felt it incumbent upon him (at all events during the lifetime of the first Parliament of Canada) to maintain the coalition principle in virtue of which these gentlemen, together with George Brown, became his colleagues in 1864. The choice was not an easy one. Brown, of course, was out of the question. Mackenzie and Blake, by their denunciation of the coalition were equally impossible, and there seemed no one else in sight in the ranks of the Liberal party.

The retirement of Mr. John Rose to take up his residence in England as a partner in the well-known banking firm of Morton, Rose and Company, created another vacancy in the Cabinet.

Just at this time Sir Francis Hincks[1] returned to Canada after fifteen years absence, during which period he had

[1] The Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, K.C.M.G., C.B., Prime Minister of the Province of Canada (1851–1854). From 1855 to 1862 Sir F. Hincks was Governor-in-chief of Barbados and the Windward Islands, and of British Guiana from 1862 to 1869. Sworn of the Canadian Privy Council and appointed Minister of Finance, 9th October, 1869, which portfolio he resigned on the 21st February, 1873. Died, 18th.

filled several governorships in the West Indies, and British Guiana. On his arrival Sir John felt that Hincks was the very man he sought. In 1854 he had been head of a Reform Government and the leader of the Reform party. Many old time Ontario Liberals continued to look upon him as their chief. After much deliberation Macdonald decided upon offering Hincks the portfolio vacant by the resignation of Sir John Rose, and on the 9th October, 1869, Sir Francis Hincks was sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Finance. The nomination created a great stir at the time, as the Macdonald correspondence indicates, resulting in the abandonment of the Conservative party by Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Cartwright, and the disaffection of others. Altogether, the selection of Hincks could not be said to have realized Sir John Macdonald's expectations.

From Sir John Macdonald to D. Morrison, Esq.,

Private. *Ottawa, August 14th, 1869.*

My dear Morrison,

I think that it would be as well for you to drop Sir Francis and try and *hedge* a little. His speech at Ottawa reviving Baldwin's letter, though of no use to himself, has been and will be of great use to the Government. There are thousands of people in Ontario who look up to Hincks as the leader of the Liberal party, and his endorsation of the continuation of the Coalition policy must have had weight.

The anger of the *Globe* at the speech is sufficient evidence that Brown knows well the effect in the country of Hincks' condemnation of his course.

I go early next week to Portland for a fortnight's sniff of the salt water, and then back to work again.

Yours faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

D. Morrison, Esq.,
Daily Telegraph Office,
Toronto.

August, 1885. For a full statement of the reasons which governed Sir John Macdonald's action in 1869, in the selection of Sir F. Hincks, see *Memoirs* Vol. II, pp. 314–6. The letter dated 17th November, 1869, of which an extract (virtually the whole letter) is there published, was addressed to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Cartwright.

From Sir George Cartier to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Halifax, 23rd August, 1869.*

My dear Macdonald,

I thank you very much for your kind last [letter] of the 13th instant. I don't intend to write you any details in this with regard to Sir John's[1] reception in P. E. Island and here. You have seen no doubt by the newspapers that Sir John has been well received in Charlottetown and here. I think we have made *great progress* with the P. E. Islanders for the success of Confederation. Prince Arthur's[2] reception here to-day was magnificent. The papers of to-morrow here will give, I am sure, an ample account of it, and you will see them in 2 or 3 days. The *conversation* to which I alluded in my last telegram to you was the one which took place between you, myself, Campbell and Rose, the day that Campbell left Ottawa to go to Europe. You must recollect that in that conversation which principally concerned the question of a successor to Rose, you told me I was at liberty to sound Galt about the matter, and in the case he should decline the offer, I was to take charge of it. For my part, as far as I am concerned, I would like very much that our friend Hincks should be our financial colleague. But I will be in a very difficult position when I meet Galt, on my return to Montreal, to approach the question of a successor to Rose, after your conversation with Hincks. Before I left Montreal I met Galt, and without telling him any detail, or even the subject I wanted to see him for, I intimated to him not to leave for England before we should meet and have some talk together on political and railway matters. It is understood that we are to meet in Montreal in the beginning of September. In consequence of your conversation with Hincks, I see that I will not be able to go so far with Galt as it was understood. However, I will have to meet him, and will be as cautious and prudent as possible. We leave this place for St. John on Thursday next, to go from there to Fredericton and return to St. John, from where we will sail for Portland to take the G. T. for Montreal. I presume you will be here at the end of the week. After the receipt of this have the kindness to write me to the care of F. P. Pominville, Esquire, Q. C., Montreal. I will send you letter when I reach Montreal, and I need not add to you that I would like very much to have a few lines from you before I meet Galt. I hope Lady Macdonald and her dear little daughter Mary are enjoying good health, and hope also that your own health will be much benefited by your little voyage. My kindest regards to Lady Macdonald. Tell her to give a warm kiss to Miss Mary for me; and my dear Macdonald,

Believe me as always

Your devoted friend and colleague,

Geo. Et. Cartier.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald,
Ottawa.

[1] Sir John Young, recently appointed Governor-General in succession to Lord Monck.

[2] H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught, K.G., afterwards Governor-General of Canada.

From John Lowe, Esq.,[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Private. *The Gazette Office,*
Montreal, Sept 16, 1869.

Dear Sir John,

There is a rumour that Sir Francis Hincks is to be appointed in the place of Rose, and I am surprised at the amount of anger it creates among our friends here. I think it better to write you this fact, although I do not know that there is any truth whatever in the rumour.

His election in Huntingdon is spoken of. But I don't think he could go in for that county, the Orangemen being so strong in it, and their Grand Master here and other members speaking so violently against it.

I don't think that you up in Ottawa can understand the strength of the prejudice against Sir Francis down here.

Believe me

Yours truly,
John Lowe.

Sir John Macdonald,
&c., &c.

From R. J. Cartwright, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Kingston, September 23rd, 1869.*

My dear Sir John,

I did not care to trouble you while there were only vague rumours about Sir F. Hincks, but as matters now stand, I wish to ask you if it is true. If you are only thinking of it, and it is not absolutely and irrevocably settled, I hope you will consider it, and make further inquiries as to probable effect before finally deciding. I can guess at some of the difficulties of the position, but taking Hincks in, will be paying a terribly heavy price to escape them.

I write frankly, for this is a matter in which all your friends are very much interested.

Yours faithfully,
R. J. Cartwright.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald,
Ottawa.

From the Hon. John Rose to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal, 27th September, 1869.

My dear Macdonald,

It is more of a wrench to one's heartstrings writing the enclosed than I care to express. But it was understood I should be out of office before this dinner, and I must act up to it. I will leave Montreal the morning after, for the purpose of saying good-bye to you all at Ottawa, but I must run out the same night so as to be back here on Thursday morning.

[1] Editor of the Montreal *Gazette*. Afterwards Deputy Minister of Agriculture (1888–1895).

Our old Tory friends with their usual impulsiveness do not take well to Hincks, but time and the exercise of a little tact will bring them round. Cartier's friends are, I think, even more unbelieving than the English Conservatives. I have seen so much of the spasmodic character of opinion here, that I have not much belief in its permanency. I am anxious to hear your impressions of the West, which are much more important. I see the Toronto *Telegraph* has not yet come round, but I presume it can be controlled.

I think now that there is *nothing* departmental left undone here, except the practical reorganization of the Civil Service, but I see that it will take Hincks some time to get into the groove of the new order of things. If I might give a hint, it would be in the way of cautioning him against *experiments*. * * * * *

Until we meet to say that hateful good-bye, believe me,

Most sincerely yours,

JOHN ROSE.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald,
Ottawa.

From R. J. Cartwright, Esq., M.P., to Sir John Macdonald.

Kingston, October 12th, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I notice with great regret that Sir F. Hincks has been gazetted. From the tenor of my former note on the subject, you will probably not be surprised to learn that I fear I cannot support that gentleman.

Of course, as in duty bound, I will await your explanations of the grounds of this appointment, but it is so unlikely that they will be such as to enable me to concur in it, that I think it only fair to notify you at once that however well disposed I was and am towards yourself and the rest of your colleagues, I cannot feel the same confidence as heretofore in an administration in which Sir F. Hincks holds office!

So far as you are concerned, I do not suppose one supporter more or less matters much just now, and so far as I myself am concerned, I am thoroughly alive to the gravity of the step I am taking, but that is a matter in which I have no option.

Yours very sincerely,

R. J. CARTWRIGHT.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald,
Ottawa.

The arrangement between His Majesty's Government, the Government of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company, under which the North West Territory became a portion of the Dominion, was to take effect from the 1st December, 1869. In anticipation of the formal transfer, the Hon. William McDougall was on the 28th September appointed

Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories, and the same day left Ottawa for his new Government. As is well known, the half-breeds of the Red River under Louis Riel, forcibly opposed and prevented the Lieutenant Governor's entrance into the Territory, on the confines of which he thus wrote his first report to Sir John Macdonald.

From the Hon. William McDougall to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Pembina, 31st October, 1869.*

My dear Sir John,

By this mail I send my first report from the North West Territories. I am sorry that it announces insurrection and possible bloodshed. The papers which accompany my report give you all the particulars that have reached me, except the rumours of this neighbourhood. These do not amount to much, and are not worth repeating, but one fact is significant, viz: that the half-breed settlers hereabouts, perhaps a dozen families, have been holding secret meetings at the instigation of emissaries from Fort Garry. I believe they have come to nothing as yet. Two of the most influential of these settlers called upon me to-day. The spokesman, one Marceau, of French Canadian origin, assured me that he had no sympathy with the movement, and refused to attend meetings. He said the half-breeds were ignorant, and that parties behind were pushing them on; that they had read in the papers that "all the *law* was to come from Canada," and that "no one in Red River would be in the law" (meaning the Council): that the half-breeds would be all driven back from the river, and their lands given to others, etc. I assured him that there was no truth in any of these stories, and that his countrymen must not believe the statements read to them from Canadian newspapers, especially the *Globe*, as to the intentions of the Canadian Government. He is to see me to-morrow and offers to go down to the barricade, and persuade his countrymen to go home. I mention this case to show how the injudicious remarks and statements of Canadian newspapers are made the occasion of outbreak and outrage in this distant region.

The worst feature in the case is the apparent complicity of the priests. It appears certain that at least one of them has openly preached sedition to his flock, and has furnished aid and comfort to the parties in arms. I regret to hear that all the priests in this country, with one or two exceptions, are from France, and have no sympathy with Canada or Canadians. There is probably some exaggeration in the papers accompanying my report, as the statements come through Protestant channels, but I have heard enough from other sources to satisfy me that the R.C. priesthood here cannot be relied upon to support the authority of the new Government. You must expect a call for volunteers from Canada to *settle* the country, with a good rifle among the implements of husbandry in each case.

I closed an agreement for the construction of a line of telegraph from

Breckenridge to Fort Garry, of the terms of which you will all approve, do not doubt. If I find time I will send a copy of the agreement for your confirmation by this mail.

I saw all the principal railway people at Chicago and St. Paul, and learned their plans. There is no doubt that railway connection with Red River will be established next summer, and the only thing required to continue it to this point is a good charter in proper hands with a reasonable grant in land and money—$5,000 per mile of a bonus would be sufficient to build the line to Winnipeg, with a land grant equal to those of the Western States. But we must not allow this line, which is indispensable to the settlement of this part of the country, to retard our efforts to open our own Lake Superior water line. It will not do, I am convinced, to be at the mercy of the American lines. My own experience has satisfied me on that point. Both means of communication are necessary to the speedy settlement of the country, and will repay the cost in a few years.

We have had delightful Indian summer weather for the last three or four days, after the snow storm (in the midst of which I met Mr. Howe) and the natives say it will last two or three weeks. All that this country, for hundreds of miles in every direction from this point, as I learn from hunters and settlers, needs to make it the northern farmer's paradise, is railway communication. Timber for fuel and fencing is scarce, but the railway and the steamboat will supply that as soon as the demand is urgent. So far, I am charmed with the prospect which everywhere opens to the eye of the tiller of the soil. Let us have law and order and public improvements, even on a moderate scale, and we will make this country the home of happy and prosperous millions in the lifetime of some of us who now have its destiny in our hands.

I will write you as soon as I reach Fort Garry, if ever I do, on the railway question as promised, as I have something important to suggest. I will only add I am not frightened and don't believe the insurrection will last a week.

Yours most faithfully,

W. McDougall.

Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to Hon. John Rose.

Private. *Ottawa, November 16th, 1869.*

My dear Rose,

I duly received yours of the 20th, 22nd and 27th ultimo. I deferred answering them until Hincks' return from Renfrew. He had a tremendous fight for his seat, as Brown and the Scotch Grits of Toronto, and all over the Province, subscribed largely to beat him. He was obliged to spend a month in the county and a good deal of money besides. However he has triumphed with a majority of 113. He is now fairly seated, and I have no doubt will strengthen the Administra-

tion. Aikins,[1] who refused to come in with McDougall alone, will come in unconditionally under Hincks, and he (Hincks) will rally round him a good following of Liberals. Kenny takes Howe's place as President of the Council—Chapais will be Receiver General, Dunkin,[2] Agriculture, Langevin, Board of Works.

I was glad to get your telegram of the 11th stating that matters were closed satisfactorily at the Treasury. Hincks makes a large remittance to the agents this week, of which he will duly write you.

McDougall has gone to Red River. There is a newspaper report that the half-breeds at first attempted to oppose his entering on his dreary sovereignty, but that he harangued them with such eloquence that instead of barring the way, they formed themselves into a Guard of Honour and conducted him in triumph to Fort Garry! We will have the particulars in a mail or so.

Sir Stafford Northcote's letter to McTavish is a very good one, and I thought it well to send a copy of it to McDougall to let him know the spirit in which the Hudson's Bay people desire to act with respect to his Government.

As regards Captain Cameron, I really do not know what his views are about being seconded. I presume he would like to keep on the strength of his regiment as long as possible.

Howe, who has just returned from Red River after a most fatiguing journey, gives no very flourishing account of Fort Garry—but he got there in October when the bad weather had set in, and everything looked cold and inhospitable.

I mentioned to Cartier and Hincks the desire of the Hudson's Bay Board to have you one of the directors. They both seemed to be afraid that it would injure your status as representative of Canada to be on the Board, at present

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[1] The Hon. James Cox Aikins, Secretary of State of Canada (1869–1873,) and (1878–1880). Minister of Inland Revenue (1880–1882). Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba (1882–1888). A Senator of Canada (1867–1882 and 1896–1904). Died, 6th August, 1904.

[2] The Hon. Christopher Dunkin, Minister of Agriculture (1869–1871). Puisne judge Superior Court Province of Quebec (1871–1881). Died, 6th January, 1881.

at all events. The cry that you were acting in England in the interests of the Company, and not in the interests of Canada, would be got up by the Opposition papers; just as the cry used to be against us all that we were acting for the Grand Trunk. We have not fully talked it out yet, however, but we shall do so to-morrow or next day.

We are now all here except Campbell, and the Cabinet will be reconstructed and the new members sworn in this week. We all agree that your proposition to get an advance at a low rate of interest on the security of the guarantee bonds, and our bonds, is much better than putting them in the market under the circumstances mentioned in your letter to Hincks. We had better keep things as they are until the other two millions of the Intercolonial are put on the market, and then we can offer the whole of the loan at the same time.

When the Cabinet is full, we shall have a solemn discussion as to what our policy is to be with respect to the proposed Colonial Conference in February next. I am, at present, strongly inclined to believe that we ought to have nothing to do with it. We have no wrongs to complain of; we are quite satisfied with our position and relations with the mother country, and we have had a special understanding, since 1865, on all matters connected with those relations. Unless convinced to the contrary, I shall oppose sending any delegation, or having any representatives at the Conference. If H. M. Government should ask the Colonies, it would be another matter. This question however is so serious a one, affecting our future policy, that until the Cabinet is full, I shall refrain from pressing the subject in Council.

You will have heard ere this reaches you the sad news of poor Vankoughnet's death.[1] It is a terrible thing, indeed, for his family and friends. He was returning from his circuit, and at Stratford was kept waiting for the train, and standing on the snow for about an hour. He had but light boots on, and got thoroughly chilled. This brought on a rheumatic attack, or something like it, which flew to his

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[1] See note 2 foot of page 7.

heart and he died after two or three days' illness. He is immensely regretted.

We have had Vail,[1] the Provincial Secretary, here from Halifax. He returned home this morning a wiser and better man, and I think that we may fairly consider the ghost of secession as laid at last.

I shall keep you posted on things in general from here, and hope to hear from you regularly.

Believe me,
My dear Rose,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. John Rose,
Bartholomew House,
London.

From C. J. Brydges, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

New York, 19th November, 1869.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I wrote to you from Philadelphia and my sojourn here has more than confirmed all I said then. John Young[2] is here, going to every one he can get at, distributing pamphlets containing his own and Huntington's speeches at Waterloo and elsewhere. He tells people in the most emphatic way that the feeling in favour of independence, as a prelude to annexation, has attained enormous growth—that the leading men of the country, outside of the Government, are all rapidly taking that view—and that all that is necessary to fan this feeling into open action, is for the United States to withhold reciprocity for a short time longer.

About this there is no doubt, and it is doing harm. I have reason to think that although Young is the most open mover in this way, he is not the only one.

I thought you would like to know this.

Yours very truly,
C. J. BRYDGES.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

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[1] The Hon. William B. Vail. Afterwards Minister of Militia and Defence in the Cabinet of Mr. Mackenzie. Died, 10th April, 1904.

[2] The Hon. John Young, a member of the Government of the Province of Canada (1851–1852). Represented Montreal West in the Legislative Assembly, and afterwards in the House of Commons (1872–1874). A strong Liberal politician.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. John Rose.

Private. *Ottawa, November 23rd, 1869.*

My dear Rose,

You see we have commenced the extension of our sovereignty with a war! of which I informed you by cable. It appears that the half-breeds have been soured by all kinds of stories as to the intention of Canada to deprive them of their lands and to govern them without any reference to the residents. These stories have been industriously propagated, and *entre nous*, I fear that the people that McDougall sent up there—Snow and Mair and Stoughton Dennis[1] have not helped at all to smooth matters.

These French half-breeds have always been truly loyal to the Hudson's Bay Company, and greatly dislike Schultz[2] and that small section who published the *Nor-Wester* and are opposed to the Company. I am afraid that Snow and Dennis fraternized too much with that fellow, who is a clever sort of man but exceedingly *cantankerous* and ill-conditioned. To make matters worse, Governor McTavish[3] is dying and unable to arrange matters with a firm hand. However, we must possess our souls in patience, and deal with these refractory people as best we may. Unfortunately the majority of priests up there are from Old France, and their sympathies are not with us. And to add to our troubles, Cartier rather snubbed Bishop Taché[4] when he was here on his way to Rome. Langevin thought he had made it all right, but it appears now that the Bishop has conveyed his feelings of irritation to his representative—a person

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[1] Lt. Col. John Stoughton Dennis, C.M.G. Afterwards Deputy of the Minister of the Interior (1878–1881). He, with Messrs. Snow and Mair were at the time Government Land Surveyors, and, as such, visited the North West in the summer of 1869.

[2] Afterwards Sir John Christian Schultz, K.C.M.G. Represented Lisgar in the House of Commons (1871–1882). A Senator of Canada (1882–1888). Lieut. Governor of Manitoba (1888–1895). Died, 13th April, 1896.

[3] Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[4] Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface. The letter of instructions issued by Sir John Macdonald to Bishop Taché will be found in *Memoirs*, Vol. II., App. XIX, pp. 312–313.

from Old France. We intend to send up Chas. de Salaberry,[1] who was up there before. He understands the half-breeds thoroughly and was quite a hero among them while he lived there. Also the Very Rev'd Mr. Thibault,[2] who was formerly Vicar General there, and perhaps the Rev'd Mr. Belcour. . . .

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. John Rose,
&c., &c., &c.

From R. J. Cartwright, Esq., M.P. to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Kingston, November 23rd, 1869.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I think you know well enough that I did not put myself under your leadership (when I first entered political life) with any view to my own personal advancement. Had that been my object, I saw plainly at the time, and there were plenty of others ready to point out to me, that I could have done better elsewhere. Therefore if I find myself unable to concur with you in this matter, I may fairly ask you to believe that I am not acting now from any selfish motives or cowardly dread of unpopularity, much less out of regard to old party prejudices.

I may as well say at once that after weighing very carefully all that you have urged—and I do not see how the case can be put more forcibly than you have put it[3]—I still think it was a most grave mistake to take Hincks in, and that you will discover it very soon.

I am quite aware that, being in, he cannot now be thrown over, and furthermore that you must defend him if attacked—that is all in the day's work, and I fully understand it. What I hope you also will understand is, that although I *must* fight it out with Sir Francis as best I can, I am most especially desirous that the present political difficulty may not be pushed into any personal antagonism to yourself.

If I am wrong in my view of the situation, my opposition will do you little harm—if I am right, it will probably be better it should come from a quarter friendly to yourself, personally.

Moreover, even admitting Sir Francis to be perfectly true to you, at present, it is not doing him much wrong to hint that contingencies may arise which may place him once more in hostility to you, especially if the

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[1] Colonel Charles de Salaberry belonged to one of the most distinguished families of the Province of Quebec, his father having been the hero of Chateauguay.

[2] The Very Reverend J. B. Thibault, who had spent 37 years in the Red River district and knew intimately every one of the leaders among the half-breeds.

[3] This refers to the letter dated 17th November, 1869, forming Appendix XX to *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 314–316, which was addressed to Mr. Cartwright.

whole Conservative party unite in rehabilitating him; whereas, if things take their natural course, I suspect his wings will be pretty well clipped, whatever else comes of it.

I am much obliged for your letter which I will of course hold private. Please do the same by this.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
RICHARD J CARTWRIGHT.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Hugh Allan, Esq.,[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Private. *Montreal, 23rd November, 1869.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I returned here this morning from New York, and I think it is well you should know that John Young is there distributing broadcast printed copies in pamphlet form of his and Huntington's speeches at Waterloo and elsewhere, with other documents, and is assuring the people there that a large portion, if not the majority, of the people of Canada are for independence and annexation.

He was to go to Boston on Saturday to enlighten Mr. Sumner who is to bring the subject up in Congress. The people there believe that he is a very influential man in Canada, and has long been a prominent member of the Government of Canada. He urges them not to grant reciprocity, as the refusal of it will precipitate the result he wishes. They believe in him, and I think we will not get reciprocity at present.

Yours truly,
HUGH ALLAN.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Cartier, Bart.

Private. *Ottawa, November 24th, 1869.*

MY DEAR CARTIER,

A despatch has gone to the Lt. Governor requesting him to send under covering despatch from himself, all communications from the Government of Quebec to the General Government. Will you be good enough to see Sir Narcisse Belleau and explain to him that this is introducing the English system, and that he is requested only to perform the same functions with respect to the General Government,

[1] Afterwards Sir Hugh Allan. For many years a leading capitalist of Montreal. One of the founders of the Allan Steamship Line. Prominently associated with the first organized effort to build the Canadian Pacific Railway.

as Sir John Young does with respect to the Government in England. He will by this arrangement be able to see all the communications passing from his own Government to Ottawa; and he has already, of course, all the communications from here to Quebec.

Explain the same thing to Chauveau. The proper system should be that all communications should be sent by the Lt. Governor, and that before sending them he should receive the advice of his first minister to do so.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon.
Sir George Cartier, Bart,
Quebec.

Shortly before Mr. McDougall's appointment as Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Howe, then Secretary of State for the Provinces, proceeded to Fort Garry (now Winnipeg), to prepare the way for the new Governor, who does not seem to have appreciated the endeavour, for he afterward charged his late colleague with pursuing a very different course, and a bitter and unseemly controversy between the two subsequently ensued. Upon Mr. McDougall's failure to cope with the situation becoming apparent, the Canadian Government despatched to Fort Garry in an endeavour to bring the insurgents to reason:
(1) The Very Rev. J. B. Thibault.
(2) Colonel de Salaberry; and
(3) Mr. Donald A. Smith.[1] then Chief Officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in Montreal.

Dr. Tupper, who was not then a member of the Cabinet, went up to Fort Garry about this time to bring back his daughter, Mrs. Cameron, and though he was in the country

[1] Afterwards the Rt. Hon. Donald Alexander, Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. Represented Selkirk in the House of Commons of Canada (1871–1878), and Montreal West (1887–1896). Sworn of the Privy Council, 24th April, 1896, and appointed on the same day High Commissioner for Canada in London, which position he held until his death on the 21st January, 1914. In addition to the above-mentioned political offices, Lord Strathcona filled many important posts, such as governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (1888–1914); president of the Bank of Montreal (1887–1905); director of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (1881–1914).

only two days, in Sir John Macdonald's opinion, "did more good than anyone who has hitherto gone there." The efforts of these gentlemen proving unavailing, as a *dernier ressort* Bishop Taché was summoned from Rome where he was attending the meetings of the Ecumenical Council, to act the part of peacemaker. The bishop had spent his life in the North West, and by his devotion to the cause of the half-breeds had acquired almost unbounded influence over them. Bishop Taché promptly responded to his country's call, and set out for Ottawa, where he arrived on the 9th February. Unhappily, five days before he reached Fort Garry, the barbarous murder of Thomas Scott made it clear to all men that the time for conciliation was over, and that sterner measures were imperatively called for.

From George Stephen, Esq.,[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Montreal, 27th November, 1869.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

My friend D. A. Smith now, since Hopkins' retirement, the Chief Hudson's Bay officer here, an old and intimate friend of McTavish at Fort Garry, with whom he is in almost daily communication, called upon me this P.M., and said he had letters and information from the Nor'West which he thought might be of service to the Government at this moment, and wished me to go up with him to Ottawa to-night and see you. I cannot well get away just now, even if my going up would be of any use; but I promised him I would write to you, and if you wished to see him, he would go up by Monday evening's train on hearing from you by wire anytime on Monday. I am sorry this bother should have arisen in the North at this time. It will require tact and firmness to settle it. Rosamond will himself go in for North Lanark.

Yours faithfully

GEO. STEPHEN.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to George Stephen, Esq.,

Private. *Ottawa, December 1st, 1869.*

MY DEAR STEPHEN,

I was very glad to see Mr. Smith, who seems a clever man; at the same time I am exceedingly disappointed at the ap-

[1] Afterwards the Rt. Hon. George, Baron Mount Stephen, Bart. G.C.V.O. A leading merchant and manufacturer in Montreal (1850–1890). President of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1881–1888). An intimate friend of Sir John Macdonald.

parent helplessness of the Hudson's Bay authorities. Mr. Smith has nothing to suggest, and they seem to have been utterly neglectful at Red River of their duty in preparing for the change.

My object in telegraphing you to come up, was that Mr. Smith suggested the possibility of your taking a run up to Fort Garry yourself. We are sending up some influential French Canadians, and he suggested that a Protestant, unconnected with office, and known to be an independent man of business, might be exceedingly useful. I had not the slightest idea that you would accept the mission, but as Mr. Smith had been in recent communication with you on the subject, I thought it well to ask you to come up.

Morris has seen Rosamond, and to-morrow will inform me about what they are going to do in the Riding.[1]

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Geo. Stephen, Esq.,
Montreal.

From Donald A. Smith, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Hudson's Bay Company's Office,
Montreal, 6th December, 1869.

Private.

MY DEAR SIR,

Since the receipt of your telegram another message has reached me from the Hudson's Bay Company, confirming their sanction to my acceptance of your proposition, and intimating that an officer will sail from England immediately, to take charge of the business of this Department.

I expect to be ready to leave here on Friday, or perhaps on Thursday, should you write me to be in Ottawa at an early date, and will, of course, go prepared to set out for Pembina or Fort Garry immediately on receiving your instructions. In the meantime, should you see no objection to its being done, I shall request our agent at St. Paul to make arrangements for enabling me to get over the road expeditiously.

Perhaps you may think it advisable that the fact of my being commissioned by your Government should not become publicly known until some time after my departure from Canada, and if so, might it not be of

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[1] North Lanark, then represented in the House of Commons by the Hon. William McDougall, whose seat does not appear to have been vacated by his acceptance of the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Rupert's Land and the North West Territories.

some service to intimate very briefly in one of the newspapers that in consequence of Governor MacTavish's severe illness, the Hudson's Bay Company desire my presence at Fort Garry. I however leave you to deal with this suggestion as you may see fit.

I am,
Very faithfully yours,
DON. A. SMITH.

The Hon.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,
Ottawa.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Montreal, 10th December, 1869.*

DEAR SIR JOHN,

Mr. Smith goes up to Ottawa this evening and, if you decide on sending him up, do you think it would be of any advantage that Col. Wolseley[1] should accompany him; if so, Wolseley will be ready at an hour's notice. He has given this Red River affair a good deal of attention, and the moment he saw it announced in the papers that Smith was going up, he came to me, knowing I was a friend of Smith's and begged me to do all I could to get him sent up with Mr. Smith. I have mentioned the matter to him, and if you think he can be of service he is ready to go, and Smith will be glad of his company.

Nothing from North Lanark to-day.

Believe me,
Very truly yours,
GEO. STEPHEN.

The Hon.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,

From Sir John Macdonald to George Stephen, Esq.,

Private. *Ottawa, December 13th, 1869.*

MY DEAR STEPHEN,

I have yours of the 10th. Smith left this morning with full powers and instructions. He seemed to think that he will be able to do good there. It would never have done for Colonel Wolseley to have gone with him. Smith goes to carry the olive branch, and were it known at Red River that he was accompanied by an officer high in rank in military service, he would be looked upon as having the olive branch in one hand and a revolver in the other.

We must not make any indications of even thinking of a

[1] Afterward Field-Marshal the Viscount Wolseley, P.C., K.P., G.C.B., &c.

military force until peaceable means have been exhausted. Should these miserable half-breeds not disband, they must be put down, and then, so far as I can influence matters, I shall be very glad to give Colonel Wolseley the chance of glory and the risk of the scalping knife!

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

George Stephen, Esq.,
Montreal.

From D. A. Smith, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Abercrombie (North Dakota),
19th December, 1869.

Private.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

We arrived here this evening, and after a stay of a couple or three hours, are again about to start for Pembina, and there is little doubt of our overtaking Messrs. Thibault and de Salaberry who left here yesterday.

Accounts from Fort Garry are not favourable. It is said, apparently on good authority, that to prevent supplies reaching Mr. MacDougall's party, the H. B. Company's fort at Pembina was taken possession of by the insurgents a week or ten days back, and Mr. MacAuley, a shrewd North American (*sic*), who lives here, is not sanguine that even Mr. Thibault will be permitted to go into the Red River Settlement. It is believed that the dissatisfaction is far more general than was at one time expected, being by no means confined to the French half-breeds. It is reported that a large——* of property belonging to Dr. Schultz has been confiscated. In short, the belief here is that the insurgents are even less disposed than before to come to terms, or to admit Mr. McDougall, but of course, personally, I know nothing of what the real state of affairs is, but be assured that every effort will be made to bring the misguided men to reason, and I sincerely trust that, with God's help, we may be successful.

Dr. Tupper is quite well and bears the journey admirably.

Pray excuse this hasty note, and I trust my next communication may be of a more cheering nature.

I am, faithfully yours,

DON. A. SMITH.

The Hon.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

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* Words indecipherable.

From D. A. Smith, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Fort Garry, 28th December, 1869.*

My dear Sir John,

Last evening about five o'clock, I drove up to the gate of Fort Garry, and finding several armed men there, was requested not to enter until they should communicate with their Chief. In a short time Mr. Riel[1] appeared, and asked me into his "Council." He and they were very affable, polite, full of regrets, &c., but ultimately requested me to take an oath that I should do nothing to undermine the "Government now legally established." This I, of course, peremptorily declined, but gave my word of honour that I would not go without the gates of the Fort till the morrow, and that meanwhile I would do nothing with the view of restoring the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company. I was then permitted to go to Governor MacTavish's house, and have since had no restraint put on me, further than having to remain within the walls—and without permission, none, whether connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, or not, are permitted to go out.

Nothing can be more serious than the present state of affairs here, the power being entirely in the hands of Mr. Riel and his party. Rev. Mr. Thibault is said to be under arrest at the R. Catholic mission opposite, and there is not the slightest chance that Mr. deSalaberry will be permitted to communicate with the insurgents.

The drift of the whole thing is evidently annexation, and such is the belief on the part of the Americans at Pembina, foremost among whom is one Colonel Stetson, evidently a man of some ability, who urge on the party that the British, that is, Imperial Government, will make no effort to prevent the whole of the North Western Territory from falling into the hands of the United States. That this view of the matter is wholly incorrect, I have lost no opportunity of declaring, and not unfrequently the assertion appears to be quite a surprise to my hearers. The proclamations of His Excellency the Governor-General, brought to Pembina, remain there, and it is not likely they can be brought in very soon. Might I be permitted to suggest that instead of these, a proclamation from the Queen direct would have much greater influence, and would be likely to effect more good than anything coming at this moment from the head of the Canadian Government. It will be very necessary in transmitting letters hereafter, now that the insurgents are entirely in the ascendant, to prevent anything falling into their hands which might have the effect of compromising me in my capacity as an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company. We, in common with the other parties in the settlement, appear to be incapable of offering any resistance to them, and I am of the opinion that it is above all things desirable the solution should be one brought about by peaceful means. How this is to be attained I shall

[1] Louis Riel, the insurgent leader who was destined to instigate a second rising in the North West, fifteen years later, and who suffered the penalty of his treasons on the scaffold at Regina, November 16th, 1885. See pp. 365–6.

endeavour to ascertain—that the task is extremely difficult there can be no doubt; and there are not wanting many who are fully impressed with the belief that it is quite hopeless.

There are now in this Fort and in jail, sixty-four prisoners—mostly persons from Canada. It is not known what Riel's intentions are in regard to them, but it is hoped they will be liberated after a few days detention.

The action taken by Col. Dennis is reprobated on all hands,[1] and the proclamation on the 1st of December, seeing that no transfer had actually taken place, was unquestionably a great mistake. But with regard to all this, Mr. MacDougall, whom I met on his way out to St. Paul, would no doubt have kept you fully informed. Governor MacTavish's health is much improved, but he is still very weak and unable to leave his room.

I write hurriedly and enclose this under cover to our Agent in Montreal, and it may be safer to have your letters hereafter transmitted through the same channel.

Dr. Tupper, against my advice, came to Fort Garry last night, and after a short interview with Mr. Riel and his "Council," returned to Pembina. I gave Mr. Riel the assurance that Dr. Tupper was entirely unconnected with the Government, and he promised to treat him well.

I write very hurriedly, everything being in such confusion here, but trust by next mail to have something more definite to report.

I have the honour to be,
faithfully yours,

The Hon. Don. A. Smith.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From the Hon. Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

Pembina, December 30th, 1869.

My dear Sir John,

We reached here Christmas eve, and on Sunday afternoon I started for Fort Garry. The Sisters of St. Norbert, in the absence of Father Ritchot,[2] sent a *man* in the confidence of the insurgents, with me to Fort Garry, where I arrived at 8 P.M., and saw Mr. Riel in Council. I informed him who I was, and that my object was to obtain my daughter's luggage, etc. He requested me to go back to St. Norbert, and assured me that I should receive everything there the next day. I spent the night at my driver's house near Father Ritchot's and the next day, on the evening of which Father Ritchot came and invited me to spend the night with him, which I did. We discussed the question in all its bearings, and I hope some good was effected. Father Thibault was *really* a prisoner, having been escorted to the Palace, and remaining there under observation. I ad-

[1] See *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 59.

[2] The Rev. N. J. Ritchot, parish priest of St. Norbert who, in the month of April, 1870, formed one of a delegation to Ottawa for the purpose of negotiating with the Dominion Government on behalf of the halfbreeds, the other delegates being John Black and Albert H. Scott.

vised that he and Col. deSalaberry should be received and have an opportunity of communicating the views of the Government. At 10 P.M. Riel and Mr. LeMay, a prominent adviser of the former, came to St. Norbert. I avoided any personal communication with Riel, but in the morning Father Ritchot informed me that they had decided to receive Col. deSalaberry and Father Thibault, and that the former could come forward. I have this moment returned to Pembina, and have but a moment to write this hurried line to you, as the post will close in a few minutes. Mr. LeMay tells me that Mr. Smith went before the Council and said as the officer of the H.B.C. he was prepared to acknowledge the only government he found in the country, and Mr. LeMay added that his act would be followed generally. I think I see a chance for the amicable adjustment of this very serious business, and hope I have paved the way for Col. deSalaberry and Father Thibault to make some progress; but you will, I think, have to send ultimately a *statesman* of standing and ability, armed with large discretionary power. Captain and Mrs. Cameron[1] and I will leave here in a day or two and I will lose no time in coming at once to you.

Ever yours faithfully,
C. TUPPER.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to D. A. Smith, Esq.

Private. *Ottawa, January 2nd, 1870.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I am in receipt of your favours of the 19th and 20th ultimo, and am glad that you have got on so far.

McDougall telegraphs that he met your party beyond Georgetown. He is expected here at the close of this week, when we may look for a full account of his disasters.

The Government here fully appreciate all the difficulties in your way, and I can assure you that they collectively, and I personally, will give you every support and confidence. I have great hopes of your success.

You must not suppose that there was any disinclination in the Council to strengthen your hands by the issue of a Commission to yourself. There were two difficulties in the way. In the first place, it was legally impossible to grant you a Commission without superseding McDougall's, and

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[1] Major General Donald Roderick Cameron, C.M.G., son-in-law of Sir Charles Tupper, Bart. Accompanied Mr. William McDougall to the Northwest in 1869, when the latter went up to assume the Lieutenant Governorship.

this we could not venture to do. We did not know what steps he had been taking, and the cancellation of his Commission would have destroyed all semblance of authority in him; and might have greatly embarrassed both the Government and himself.

In the second place, as we had duly notified the Imperial Government that we would not accept the transfer of the country until peace was restored, we had of course, deprived ourselves of all power to issue a Commission to anyone to administer the affairs of a country which in no way belonged to ourselves.

You will receive, however, a Commission, under the Great Seal of the Dominion, authorizing you to act as a Commissioner.

I have read again the claims set up by the insurgent half-breeds, some of which are altogether inadmissible and I now proceed to state to you what we are willing to concede.

In the first place it must be remembered that by the Imperial Act transferring the country, and by our Act providing for its government, all existing authorities and functionaries were to be continued until further action by the Government and Legislature here. So that if Mr. McDougall had assumed the government of Rupert's Land, the present Council, who act under Governor McTavish would have held the same position under him.

In Mr. McDougall's instructions you will find he was told that before any reconstruction of the Council, he was to ask Governor McTavish and Mr. Black[1] to go on the Council, and that he was to report the names of a number of persons from among the residents, unconnected with the Company, to go on the Council also.

It would be well that this should be distinctly explained to the Council and people at Red River; and you can further state that when Canada assumes the government, the

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1 John Black, commonly called 'Judge' Black, the recorder at Fort Garry, who at the outbreak of the rising was acting Governor and President of the Council of Assiniboia. Mr. Black formed one of the delegation despatched by the insurgents to Ottawa in the spring of 1870, the other two members being the Rev. N. J. Ritchot and Albert H. Scott.

present Council will be expected to continue to act as such, and to report as to any changes which they may deem expedient in its composition. You can further state that we have no objection to two thirds of the Council being selected from among the residents. Before introducing the elective principle into the Council, it will be necessary to get a report from the existing Council as to the best mode of doing so. This report must, of course, be submitted to Parliament, and an Act passed on the subject, as the Government have no power to settle such a matter without an Act. Representative institutions will, however, as a matter of course, be granted to Rupert's Land by Parliament, as in all the other Provinces of the Dominion, so soon as the Territory is in a position to bear the burdens and assume the responsibilities of such institutions. Elective municipal institutions, as well as for schools, can be introduced at once, as in Ontario and Quebec, if desired by the Council.

You are authorized to invite a delegation of, at least, two residents to visit Ottawa for the purpose of representing the claims and interests of Rupert's Land. The representation of the Territory in Parliament, will be a matter for discussion and arrangement with such delegation.

The expenses of the Government of Rupert's Land as sanctioned by Parliament, will be defrayed for the present by the Dominion Government. The present tariff will be continued for two years, as already provided by the Order-in-Council which you have with you. It will be for Parliament to decide, on the representation of the delegates whether the time can be prolonged.

Indian claims, including the claims of the half-breeds who live with and as Indians, will be equitably settled. There is no general homestead law in Ontario as you state in your letter, but you can assure the residents that all titles to land held by residents in peaceable possession will be confirmed, and that a very liberal land policy as to the future settlement of the country, will be adopted.

These are, I think, the principal points alluded to in your letter, and in addition I can only repeat what I told you verbally, that any pecuniary arrangements that you may make with individuals, in the manner we spoke about, will be carried out here.

I shall enclose this letter to Mr. Kittson and ask him to forward it to you, in such manner as he may think safest under the circumstances.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Donald A. Smith, Esq.,
Pembina.

P.S. This letter is marked *private* as yours was so marked, and as it is better that this correspondence should be unofficial; but you can consider yourself fully authorized to carry out the terms of this communication which will afterwards be confirmed by an Order-in-Council.

The free grant or homestead law in Ontario is confined to a remote and unorganized section of the Province, and does not affect the settled portions.

J. A. M.D.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. John Rose.

Private. *Ottawa, January 3rd, 1870.*

MY DEAR ROSE,

I have yours of the 13th and 18th.

McDougall is now at St. Paul's and leaves this morning for Ottawa. He has the redoubtable Stoughton Dennis with him. The two together have done their utmost to destroy our chance of an amicable settlement with these wild people, and now the probability is that our Commissioners will fail and that we must be left to the exhibition of force next spring.

No letters have arrived from Sir Curtis Lampson as yet.

I do not think that we ought to publish any statement of McDougall's. It would be the height of folly to transfer all the questions that must arise on the Hudson's Bay matter to England, and have them discussed in the English press.

I send you a copy of the Order-in-Council which we passed declining to send representatives to the Colonial Conference. We have simply stated that, until invited by Her Majesty's Government, we do not think it fitting to send a delegation. We have had a very pleasant Christmas and New Year,

although the pleasure has been marred a good deal by this infernal Western news.

Pray give my best regards to Mrs. Rose and believe me,

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. John Rose,
Bartholomew House,
Bank, London, England.

From D. A. Smith, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Fort Garry, 18th January, 1870.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I have but a moment for writing, as to-day we have had a most exciting time—a large number, both of the French and English, having come to demand that I should be heard on the part of Canada, and it has been decided that there shall be a mass meeting to-morrow, when my commission is to be read and it is hoped they will then agree to appoint delegates—an equal number from either party—to give expression to their views, and to treat for the transfer of the territory to Canada. My commission will, I trust, fully empower me to act for your Government, and whatever may be decided on, I shall not hesitate to assure the people, will be carried out in good faith.

The other commission to which you referred ought now to be in my hands. Feeling is very high on both sides, but I most sincerely trust and hope peace will be maintained. I have had not a word from you since my arrival here.

In much haste,
Yours faithfully,
DONALD A. SMITH.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. John Rose.

Private. *Ottawa, January 21st, 1870.*

MY DEAR ROSE,

I have yours of the 30th ultimo, enclosing copy of Governor McTavish's communication with the Board.

McDougall has returned here very chop-fallen, and at the same time very sulky. He has been pitched into and ridiculed by the Press unmercifully, and is trying after his fashion—which you well know—to put the blame on everybody but himself. We will endeavour to sustain him if we can, but I fear his want of truthfulness, and the ebullitions of his mortified vanity will commit him irretrievably. He has already

been telling the most foolish stories about Howe's mission, and he has even conjured up a plot among the French Canadians of Lower Canada to keep the British immigrant out of the Red River Settlement, and make it a purely French Canadian colony, and other nonsense of that kind. Altogether his appointment has been a most wonderful failure.

Dr. Tupper went up to bring back his daughter Mrs. Cameron, and got into Fort Garry. He was in the country for about two days and did more good than anyone else who has hitherto gone there. The insurgents could not refuse to admit Mons. Thibault, but they at first kept him a *quasi* prisoner at the Bishop's House; and they refused admittance to deSalaberry. Dr. Tupper had a long conference with Father Ritchot, one of the ringleaders. The consequence was that deSalaberry was allowed to join Thibault and they are both to have a conference with the French Council. The results of it we will soon know. Mr. Smith, the Hudson's Bay man got into Fort Garry. He writes rather despondingly of affairs. Dr. Tupper, who accompanied him from Ottawa to Pembina, says he seems to be a very good man, but exceedingly timid. So that our selection of him was rather unfortunate.

You will be glad to learn that Bishop Taché volunteered to return from Rome. He was to have left the Eternal City last week, so that we may expect him in a few days. All accounts agree that his influence if fully used (of which we can have no doubt, because he must be seriously alarmed at the turn events have taken) will be quite sufficient to put an end to the trouble—So mote it be! Meanwhile it is clearly for the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company that the money should not be paid over. In order to stand well with the Canadian public, they should show no undue anxiety to get their money, when they cannot hand over the equivalent to us. It will make matters run more smoothly hereafter between us. As to the question of interest on the deposit, that is a comparatively small matter which can be adjusted hereafter. It was a very wise step of yours to have the money put on fortnightly interest. Should all attempts at conciliation fail, we can then talk of sending a special commissioner to Red River; but we should not send an Englishman ignorant of the country. He would be sure to

make a mess of it, and his conciliatory propositions would be rejected by our Parliament.

As to Fisheries, I send you copy of an Order-in-Council passed the other day. We are going to put an end to all fishing licenses, as the system has proved abortive. The American fishermen will not take out licenses, and Her Majesty's Navy will take no steps to catch them or drive them off the grounds. We shall, therefore, fit out six cruisers, which will be employed like "La Canadienne" as a Marine Police, and act under our Statute of 1868–31 Vic. Cap. 61.

The principal use of ships of war being on the station, would be the moral support they would give to our cruisers. In the absence of such ships, American fishermen might combine and resist our fishery officers. But if it were known that there were ships of war in the background, we should have no trouble. All that you can do is to press as strongly as possible on Mr. Childers, that the stronger the force, the less likelihood there will be of resistance by the fishermen, and of complications and quarrels with the Americans.

I write hurriedly to catch the mail.

Believe me,
Very sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. John Rose,
&c., &c., &c.
London.

From Sir John Macdonald to D. A. Smith, Esq.,

Private. *Ottawa, January 21st, 1870.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I have your several notes up to the 1st January inclusive, and am glad that you have at all events arrived safe in the promised land.

You will, ere this, I hope, have received my letter on the subject of concessions to be made, which, I should think, will answer all your purposes. If they are not satisfied with the terms offered by you, you will, I suppose, endeavour to get them to appoint a delegation to come to Ottawa to settle the terms. If they were once here, I have no doubt of our being able to make satisfactory arrangements.

I have prepared a Commission appointing you a Commissioner to enquire into the discontents at Red River, and to report thereon; but I have not yet sent it, in consequence of receiving your letter as to the concessions that we would be willing to make.

It is better that you should come to some agreement with these people as to the terms, and we will then send you a formal Commission authorizing you to carry them out. This will give you much more influence than a mere Commission of enquiry.

Dr. Tupper has returned here in good health, and reports a long conversation with Father Ritchot, which was more satisfactory on the whole than he expected, but I presume that long ere this you will have seen Mon. Ritchot yourself.

Dr. Tupper complains of the great delay in the transmission of intelligence from Fort Garry to St. Cloud, and he says that by a proper arrangement of relays, express messengers might be sent through in from 48 to 60 hours. However that may be, some steps should be taken to increase the means of communication.

We shall be obliged by your addressing yourself to that subject.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Donald A. Smith, Esq.,
Fort Garry.

From C. J. Brydges, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Montreal, January 25th, 1870.*

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

Governor Smith of Vermont was in here this morning to see me with reference to matters of business connected with the Vermont Central Railway, of which he is President. He is, as I think I told you, also President of the Northern Pacific Railway; and I had a long talk with him this morning about it. He showed me a telegram which he had received from Jay Cooke to the effect that five millions of dollars ($5,000,000) as agreed upon had been deposited, and was now subject to the order of the Company in their Bank in New York. He also told me that they had completed their arrangements; and that the work was now actually in progress from the head of Lake Superior to Georgetown on the Red River; that they

have a charter secured to build a line from Georgetown to Pembina: that the line from Georgetown, west, takes a northerly direction, so as to avoid the alkali desert, and that it will come in many places within 20 to 30 miles of the boundary of the Hudson's Bay Territory. He made no secret further of the fact, that in their arrangements, they were working in concert with certain parties at Washington—meaning, I presume, the Government—that they hope to carry the line so near the boundary, that drop lines into the territory may be constructed, and thus injure, if not prevent, the construction of an independent line in British territory.

There is no doubt whatever, from what he tells me, that the Government are assisting the Northern Pacific Company to go on with their work, in the hope that it will have an effect in maintaining the present attitude of Riel and his party.

Governor Smith is counting upon some more material aid from the Government, so as to ensure a speedy prosecution of the works.

I am quite satisfied from the way Smith talks to me, that there is some political action at the bottom of this, and that the United States Government at Washington are anxious to take advantage of the organization of this Northern Pacific Railway to prevent your getting the control for Canada of the Hudson's Bay Territory.

This is only a repetition of what I have already said to you; but it came to me so directly this morning, and from a channel that I am satisfied knows what he is talking about, that I think it only right to let you know what I had heard.

It seems to me you ought carefully to consider what had better be done, as, no doubt, the Minnesota people are letting the insurgents in Red River understand that their only hope of getting railway communication will be through United States sources.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
C. J. Brydges.

Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.
&c., &c., &c.,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to C. J. Brydges, Esq.,

Private. *Ottawa, January 28th, 1870.*

My dear Brydges,

Many thanks for your letter of the 25th giving me an account of your conversation with Governor Smith. It is quite evident to me, not only from this conversation, but from advices from Washington, that the United States Government are resolved to do all they can, short of war, to get possession of the western territory and we must take immediate and vigorous steps to counteract them. One of

the first things to be done is to show unmistakably our resolve to build the Pacific Railway. As I have already talked over this subject fully with you, I need not go into it again. It must be taken up by a body of capitalists, and not constructed by the Government directly. Canada can promise most liberal grants of land in alternate blocks, and may perhaps (but of this I cannot speak with any confidence) induce Parliament to add a small pecuniary subsidy. No time should be lost in this, and I should think that we had made a great stride if we got you to take it up vigorously.

You know that I had communication with Galt on the matter who, at the time, seemed full of it. But he is unstable as water, and no one can depend upon continuous exertion in one direction with him for 48 hours. If he is the guiding mind, there will be great uncertainty, great delays, and I fear, a want of success. His name does not stand well on 'Change in England for reasons that you know. At the same time I fully appreciate the advantage of his connection with the road, provided he has not a predominating influence. His suggestiveness and versatility of resource would be of great value.

The thing must not be allowed to sleep, and I want you to address yourself to it at once and work out a plan. Cartier and I will talk it over, after conference with you, and push it through.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

C. J. Brydges, Esq.,
Montreal.

From the Earl of Carnarvon,[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

66 *Grovsvenor Street, W.,*
10th February, 1870.

Private.

DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

I have been for many days intending to write to you to thank you for the year book of Canada, and to tell you how much I value the very

[1] The Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies at the date of the sittings of the London Conference at which was drafted the British North America Bill. Lord Carnarvon resigned on the 4th March, 1867, and was succeeded at the Colonial Office by the Duke of Buckingham, who was the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the inauguration of Confederation, 1st July, 1867. Lord Carnarvon's wish to visit the Dominion was realized in 1883.

handsome silver medal which I have received through your Government, and which I have formally acknowledged. I really value them both very highly as recollections—each in its own way—of the great work in which it was my good fortune to take some small part, and still more as a proof that I have not altogether passed out of the recollection of my Canadian friends. I cannot refuse myself the hope that some day I may, in spite of many home obstacles, have the satisfaction of seeing with my own eyes the Dominion; and I wish this all the more when I perceive so many Colonial questions of great importance on our horizon. I wish, indeed, that they were to be dealt with by a government in England which had larger Imperial sympathies.

I was not aware till lately that an entire withdrawal of the troops from Canada was meditated. It seems to me dangerous in the extreme, and, so far as I am concerned, I intend to protest most strongly against it; but whether or not it is possible to make the public mind in this country, which is not totally ignorant, more intelligent on Colonial subjects before serious mischief is done, is hard to say. I have given notice of my intention to bring on a question which must raise a great deal, if not the whole, of the controversy within a few days—the result of which you will see in the papers. It would be a satisfaction to me to hear from you at any time, if amidst your manifold occupations there is anything which you think is worth communicating.

The Red River difficulty is a very serious one; but the last reports appear to be more favourable. I should have asked for some explanation in the House, but that I feared to do harm rather than good in the present conjuncture. We have our own difficulties too in our domestic politics to contend with, and at times they look alarming enough.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

CARNARVON.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

Private. *Ottawa, February 15th, 1870.*

MY DEAR SIR HASTINGS,

I have yours of the 8th instant. It seems to me that you are quite right in confirming the removal of Mr. Rand by your Council, and the appointment of his successor. Indeed, I do not see how you could constitutionally take any other course. It is so clearly within the power of the government of the day to remove persons holding office during pleasure, with or without cause, that you would have put yourself in a false position had you refused to accept their advice. Such a

refusal would compel any ministry, with any spirit, to resign. The whole responsibility rests upon them, and if they have made a mistake, the consequences will fall upon them. If, on the other hand, the removal is approved of by the people, they will gain the advantage of it, and you will not appear to be in opposition to the general will.

It seems to me clear that you must act as fairly and loyally towards your ministers as if you coincided individually with their opinions.

The Minute of your Council praying Her Majesty to allow the Province to retain the old Seal has arrived. I take it that there can be no objection under the despatch, to allow the Government to have any seal they like.

Our session commences to-day and will last probably about two months. Prince Arthur arrived last night in the midst of a snow storm, so that the opening of our Parliament will be graced by Royalty.

There is no end of festivities going on. I wish you could come up to the State affair on the 25th, but I suppose you cannot quit the helm just now.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
Sir Hastings Doyle, K.C.M.G.,
Halifax.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Rose.

Private. *Ottawa, February 23rd, 1870.*

MY DEAR ROSE,

Bishop Taché has been here and has left for the Red River, after exceedingly full and unreserved communication with him as to our policy and requirements, of all of which he approves. He is strongly opposed to the idea of an Imperial Commission, believing, as indeed, we all do, that to send out an overwashed Englishman, utterly ignorant of the country and full of crotchets, as all Englishmen are, would be a mistake. He would be certain to make propositions and consent to arrangements which Canada could not possibly accept.

Everything looks well for a delegation coming to Ottawa including the redoubtable Riel. If we once get him here, as you must know pretty well by this time, he is a gone coon. There is no place in the ministry for him to sit next to Howe, but perhaps we may make him a senator for the Territory!

I received yesterday your cable to the effect that Her Majesty's Government will co-operate in the expedition. I am very glad of this. Even if the force does not go, the agreement of England to co-operate with us will be immensely satisfactory to us, and show that England has no intention of abandoning her colonies. You will, long ere this reaches you, have received our Minute as to the proposed expeditionary force, which I hope you will approve of.

I am exceedingly glad that General Lindsay is coming out. He knows something of the country, and is a good soldier and a frank and ready man of business.

The reason why I telegraphed for the organization of the Irish constabulary is that we propose to organize a mounted Police Force under the command of Captain Cameron for Red River purposes.

We must never subject the Government there to the humiliations offered to McTavish. These impulsive half-breeds have got spoilt by this *émeute*. and must be kept down by a strong hand until they are swamped by the influx of settlers.

We finished last night the debate on the Address, which has been rather discursive. The Government is apparently stronger than ever. Galt came out, I am glad to say, formally in opposition, and relieved me of the difficulty connected with him. His warm alliance with the Lower Canadian French rendered it necessary for me to put up with a good deal, as you know. But he is now finally dead as a Canadian politician. The correspondence between Cartier and himself, in which he comes out squarely for Independence, has rung his death knell, and I shall take precious good care to keep him where he is. He has seduced Cartwright away, and I have found out how it was managed. Cartwright and he formed at the Club last session a sort of mutual admiration society, and they agreed that they were the only two men fit to govern Canada. Galt rubbed it in pretty strong, as I have occasion to know that he told him that I ought to have selected him (Cartwright) as your successor.

If I live, I will guarantee that Cartwright will have at the next election, a successor for Lennox. His opponent will be James Cartwright, his cousin, quite a different man, and who wants no greater triumph than the one he is certain to gain over Cartwright. I have seen King's letter to Hincks, which is all that could be desired. I think that the relations will now be pleasant and friendly. I should be very sorry to see the account changed from the Montreal Bank. That institution, with its large capital and numerous advantages, would always command a first-rate business without reference to the Government account, but it is I think of importance to Canada that a Canadian bank should have a good status in London. The Montreal Bank is the only one that can have that status at present, and it would greatly injure its prestige there, if immediately after its opening an office in the city, it ceased to be the fiscal agent of the Dominion.

Great attempts have been made to get hold of Sandfield by Galt & Co., but without success. He is sound and true, and for the best of reasons. His only safe policy is to adhere to the present arrangement.

McDougall is behaving with an utter want of judgment and proper feeling, but he has been hitherto spared, inasmuch as considerable sympathy is felt for the accumulated political misfortunes which have befallen him. Had he come back and borne his failure with dignity and reticence, we would have sustained him to the utmost extent. He has made so many enemies for himself by his folly, that I fancy he must go by the board. How he is to live, I do not know.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir John Rose, K.C.M.G.,
Bartholomew House,
London.

From D. A. Smith, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Fort Garry, 26th February, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 26th and 27th January and of the document to which they refer.

Bishop Taché has not yet made his appearance, but is expected here

to-day or to-morrow. Just before I last addressed you, matters have been brought to that point when the people of the settlement had unanimously decided on sending delegates to confer with your Government at Ottawa, and had things remained quiet, the gentlemen appointed would have set out on Monday last, but unfortunately some overzealous and exceedingly rash persons got up an excitement amongst the English-speaking portion of the community, which has greatly delayed the progress of pacification, and had well nigh resulted in the death of at least one of the party. The newspaper herewith gives a tolerably good account of the affair as it happened. The Captain Boulton,[1] whose name appears in the list of prisoners, was condemned to be shot by the party in power, and notwithstanding the intercession of almost every person of influence in the settlement, including Bishop Machray, Archdeacon McLean, the Roman Catholic priests and others, Mr. Riel remained firm in his determination to carry out the sentence on the 19th instant. Soon after eight o'clock that evening I called on Mr. Riel, and fortunately was able to bring arguments to bear which induced him, not only to spare Captain Boulton's life, but also to ensure the liberation of all the prisoners, which Riel informed me to-day would take place so soon as the provisional Council meets next week. A delegate will probably then be elected to replace Mr. Black who has declined to act in that capacity. It is possible the Bishop of Rupert's Land will be nominated in Mr. Black's stead, and I expect to leave in company with them, from the 2nd to the 5th March. Last night I arrived from off a two-days' drive of about 130 miles, and for eight days back I have been travelling almost without intermission, but am glad to say with the best effect in restoring order, and as I sincerely hope and believe, paving the way for the peaceful and speedy union of this country with Canada.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
DONALD A. SMITH.

Sir John A. Macdonald,
Ottawa.

From Lady Rose to Sir John Macdonald.

18 Queen's Gate, Hyde Park, W., March 12, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I must write a line to say how much pleased and gratified I have been at the kind tone and manner in which you have spoken of my good man in the House, and he also is deeply gratified, though he doesn't say much. You seem likely to weather all storms with your usual skill and success. I suppose, on the whole, it is better to have your enemy in front of you than beside you. Solomon has something wise about an open foe being better than an unreliable friend. I hope you and yours are flourishing. For

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[1] Afterward the Hon. C. A. Boulton, a Senator of Canada for the Province of Manitoba. Died, 15th May, 1899.

myself, I can only say I am content. The conditions of life are easy in this old world.

With my best regards,

Yours always,
Very sincerely,
CHARLOTTE ROSE.

From D. A. Smith, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Fort Garry, 15th March, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR,

On the 10th instant I received, through Mr. Kittson, your telegram of the 21st February, the gentleman to whom allusion is made in it having reached this place some days earlier.

Bishop Taché arrived here on the 9th and proceeded to his residence at St. Boniface, where he was at once placed under guard. Up to this time I have had no communication with him, officially or otherwise, but will no doubt have an opportunity of seeing him before taking my departure for Canada, which I intend doing on the 18th instant.

Mr. Riel informed me to-day that the delegates are also to set out for Ottawa some time this week.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
DONALD A. SMITH.

Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,
&c., &c.,
Ottawa.

From the Earl Granville to Sir John Macdonald.

16 Bruton Street, London, W.,
March 23,/70.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Please to let me introduce to you Sir Clinton Murdoch.[1] Lord Clarendon asked me to send him to the States to negotiate about emigration ships, and I have taken the opportunity of sending him through the Dominion to obtain some information on the subject of emigration. You and Sir John Young may find him useful about this troublesome Red River question, as he knows all that has passed, and could probably tell you more, if you like to question him about our views, than we have probably been able to make clear in our correspondence.

The presence of Sir John Rose here has been of great use and comfort to me. It is impossible to have an abler or more pleasant man with whom to transact business.

Yours sincerely,
GRANVILLE.

[1] Sir Thomas William Clinton Murdoch, K.C.M.G., an official of the Colonial Office. Visited Canada in 1870 on a special mission in connection with the examination of free grants to settlers, and other matters connected with emigration.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Rose.

Ottawa, March 25th, 1870.

My dear Rose,

I yesterday received your letter on the correspondence with Lord Granville anent the expedition to the North West, and expect to see to-day the despatches to the Governor General. I will write you next mail fully on the subject.

You will see by the debates that we are getting on swimmingly in Parliament. I have got complete control of the House and can do with it pretty much as I please. Galt is down so low that there are "none so poor as do him reverence."

Huntington introduced a series of resolutions asking for the direct treaty-making power for a customs union or zollverein, and all that kind of nonsense.

He was pitched into so furiously for the zollverein that Galt, to secure his retreat and break his fall, moved an amendment claiming the treaty making power, but omitting all about the zollverein. He took great pains to canvass the House and got up some caucuses in which some of our friends were unwarily entrapped. To meet this I moved a counter amendment, which I think you will admit was ingeniously worded to counteract Galt's insidious proposition. We had a rattling debate, in which he got tremendously mauled. I sent you a copy of the Votes and Proceedings showing the division. I have marked over the "nays" the men who fell into a snare and could not get out of it. Mackenzie was very angry at himself for his simplicity in allowing himself to be caught.

I write to catch the mail.

Yours always,

John A. Macdonald.

Sir John Rose, K.C.M.G.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Earl of Carnarvon.

Private. *Ottawa, April 14th, 1870.*

My dear Lord Carnarvon,

Your kind note reached me in the middle of our session, and you will, I have no doubt, accept that fact as a sufficient

reason for my not answering it sooner. In our new country public men are much harder worked and are obliged to attend more to details than they are in England. You have all needful assistance and every appliance at hand, while we are obliged to attend to the minutiæ of our offices to a most inconvenient degree.

I am glad you like the medal—no one in England has a better right to it than yourself.

I hope you will be able to carry out your half-formed intention of visiting Canda. Three months' sojourn among us would give you more practical information than you can obtain in any other way. I can assure you of a hearty welcome.

We are glad to know that we have in you a friend—I may almost say a friend in need—for we greatly distrust the men at the helm in England who cannot, I fear, be considered as appreciating the importance of maintaining the Empire as it is, intact.

We indulge the belief here however that Messrs. Bright, Lowe, and Gladstone (shall I add Lord Granville?) are not true exponents of the public opinion of England. We may perhaps be obliged to appeal from the Government to the people of England.

The withdrawal of the troops from Canada is, I think with you, a most unwise and short-sighted proceeding. At this moment we are in daily expectation of a formidable Fenian invasion, unrepressed by the United States Government, and connived at by their subordinate officials. And we are at the same time called upon to send a military force to restore order in Rupert's Land. Her Majesty's Government have been kept fully informed of the constant threats from the Fenian body for the last five years, and they have been especially forewarned of the preparations for the present expected attack. And yet this is the time that they choose to withdraw every soldier from us, and we are left to be the unaided victims of Irish discontent and American hostility, caused entirely by our being a portion of the Empire. We must, however, bear it as best we may, and we intend, with God's blessing, to keep our country, if we can, for the Queen against all comers.

The Red River trouble was in a fair way of being settled.

The people are, I believe, as a whole, quite loyal, though they would have preferred their present wild and semi-barbarous life to the restraints of civilization that will be forced upon them by the Canadian Government and the new settlers. The affair has been a good deal complicated, however, by the barbarous murder of Scott.[1] He was tried by a sham court martial under the orders of Riel and condemned on the most frivolous pretexts. Scott was known in Canada and has relatives here, and the blood of the people is at fever heat. They are calling for retribution upon Riel, and all connected with him. Indignation meetings have been held all over Canada, and the Government has been called upon by some of them to refuse to receive any delegates commissioned by Riel.

I hope, however, that we shall be able to arrange matters so satisfactorily that the expedition which is now being prepared, and which *must* go, will be accepted, not as a hostile force, but as a friendly garrison.

The navigation will not be open until some time in the beginning of next month. So soon as the harbours are free from ice, and our steamers can start for Fort William, they will be so laden with the necessary supplies and *materiel*. The troops will soon follow.

I shall have great pleasure in communicating with you from time to time, as you suggest, on any matters of importance connected with Canada or the Colonial question.

Pray present my respectful remembrances to Lady Carnarvon and believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Earl of Carnarvon.

From Sir Stafford Northcote to Sir John Macdonald.

On board "Moravian," April 18, 1870.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose a note which Sir John Rose gave me before I left England. I hope soon to have the pleasure of calling on you at Ottawa, when perhaps you will allow me to have the advantage of some conversation with you on the subject of the Red River affairs. I am very anxious to obtain such

[1] Thomas Scott, a former resident of Ontario. Brutally murdered under the forms of law by order of Louis Riel. For particulars of this shocking tragedy see Major Boulton's "North West Rebellions," pp. 130–131.

information as may be of use to the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in the future regulation of their business; and I believe that it would be of service, not only to the Company, but to the settlements, if I could have the opportunity of free personal communication with the ministers who are about to undertake its administration.

I am bound to be in England pretty early in June, and am anxious to see what I can of Canada while I am on this side the Atlantic, so that I must economize my time as much as I can. I am three or four weeks behind the news which I suppose you have from Red River, and which I shall learn on landing. I hope to see Mr. Donald Smith, and to spend a few days at Montreal. If there should be anything you wish to say to me, my address will be at the Hudson's Bay House there.

I remain,

Faithfully yours,

STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE.

The Honourable
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From the Hon. Martin I. Wilkins[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Attorney General's Office, Halifax, N. S.,
18th April, 1870.

DEAR SIR.

Our Legislature having been this day prorogued, I forward a copy of an Act passed during the session to improve the administration of justice. The Bill I prepared, a copy of which was forwarded to you, was so much disapproved of by all the judges, that I was forced to abandon it, and the Act just assented to was prepared to meet their views. They expressed an opinion that if additional judges were appointed, they would be able to overtake the arrears of business, and prevent for the future the delays so detrimental to the administration of justice.

I shall be very happy to accept a seat on the Bench and escape from political life which, I assure you, has no charm for me. I was admitted in 1828, made Solicitor General in 1857, from which time I have worn a silk gown. In 1867 I became Attorney General, and have been in full practice for upwards of forty years. If my claims to promotion are considered good, I shall be very happy to quit the political arena.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours truly and obediently,

MARTIN I. WILKINS.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

On the 6th May, 1870, Sir John Macdonald was seized with a serious illness which, for a time threatened his life, and from which he did not fully recover until the following autumn.

[1] Mr. Wilkins was, at the time, Attorney General of Nova Scotia, distinguished by his bitter, and even ferocious, opposition to Sir John Macdonald and the Government of Canada. See *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 36.

From the Hon. L. H. Holton to H. Bernard, Esq.

Montreal, 15th May, 1870.

My dear Mr Bernard,

I rejoice most sincerely to learn from your telegrams and Lady Macdonald's that Sir John continues to make satisfactory progress towards convalescence.

Although it has been my lot as a public man to be in constant opposition to him and the party he has led with signal skill and ability, I have always entertained the highest admiration for his talents, and in spite of momentary estrangements resulting from the interchange of hard blows in debate, I have ever cherished the warmest personal regard for him. On every ground therefore, both public and private, do I fervently hope that his life will be spared and his health and strength restored.

With kind regards to Lady Macdonald and to Sir John himself, if his strength admits of such communications,

Believe me
Faithfully yours,
L. H. Holton.

H. Bernard, Esquire,

From Edward Blake, Esq., K.C., to Hewitt Bernard, Esq.,

Toronto, June 2nd, 1870.

My dear Bernard,

I have been watching anxiously the news of Sir John, but thought I would not add to your troubles by a line, even of sympathy.

I cannot help writing however to-day on learning the very satisfactory news that you have been able to move the sufferer to Cockburn's, and that he has borne it so well. I trust this is a real march of recovery[1] and that he will now rally without harm.

With every good wish believe me,

Faithfully,
Edward Blake.

H. Bernard, Esq.,
Deputy Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

From the Lady Lisgar to Sir John Macdonald.

Rosemount, Tuesday, Sept., 1870.

My dear Sir John,

You can't think how pleased I was with getting your letter, for I know how much better you must have been to be able to write it I can assure

[1] Sir John Macdonald was stricken down in his office in the Eastern Block (in the room now occupied by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs). His condition became so grave he could not be moved for some weeks. At length he was taken over to the Speaker's quarters in the House of Commons, and this is what Mr. Blake means by a "march of recovery."

you, you would be very flattered if you could hear how universal is the joy at your recovery. It is almost worth being ill, to have so much anxiety so universally exhibited. Not only therefore, must you get well for the sake of your own more especial belongings, but for the sake of Canada, who with almost one voice declares you to be necessary to the future of the Dominion. The party here are particularly happy at your recovery. Colonel Elphinstone quite gave a sigh of relief when he heard how you are progressing.

The ceremony yesterday went off remarkably well, and looked so impressive. General Mc—— (I hardly know how to speak or spell his name) was loud in his admiration. He was here last night at a party, and seems very nice.

We leave to-morrow for Mr. Allan's lake, and from thence proceed to Quebec. I hope I shall continue to hear that you are getting stronger and stronger. Lady Macdonald will, I hope, make use of Guerin in any way you want.

If you have not read "Red as a Rose is She", and "My Enemy's Daughter," you will find them very pleasant.

Please understand I am *very grateful* to you for writing to me. I know it must have been a great exertion to you, but I appreciate it.

Give my love to Lady Macdonald. How glad she must be to see her care rewarded. I gave you up for a day or two when Doctor Grant came and told me how little hope he could give us. Please God I shall live to hear you make another speech. Sir John sends you his kindest regards and hopes it will not be very long before he sees you.

Yours most sincerely,

ADELAIDE YOUNG.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal, 23rd September, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I was very sorry at not having an opportunity of paying my respects to you when here the other day, and of offering my most sincere wishes that you might long enjoy the good health to which, to the great delight of the whole country, you have been restored. It was most gratifying to me as a Canadian to see the kindly interest shown by your many friends in London during the most critical period of your illness. The enquiries at Rose's office were incessant and not very usual in that somewhat selfish city. I hear that it is your purpose, by and by, to run over to the other side. You will be delighted to see Rose thriving in every sense of the term, and among your many friends there not a warmer one than he is, or one who will be more glad to see you.

With my most respectful regards to Lady Macdonald,

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

GEO. STEPHEN.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Rt. Rev. Ashton Oxenden, D.D. Lord Bishop of Montreal.

Ottawa, October 10th, 1870.

My dear Lord Bishop,

Since my return to Ottawa from Prince Edward Island I have had the opportunity of bringing up the subject of a general Thanksgiving Day before the Privy Council. The matter stands thus:—

Before Confederation, the Governor General of Canada occasionally appointed, by Proclamation, days of thanksgiving. These proclamations were in no way obligatory, as in Canada there is a complete severance between Church and State. The Roman Catholic Bishops did not acknowledge the authority of the Governor in the matter, but, recognizing the propriety of the suggestion, selected the day named in the proclamation as a thanksgiving day within their several dioceses.

The question came up before Lord Monck shortly after Confederation, and it was then considered that it would be more expedient to leave the Government of each Province to deal with the subject.

The boundaries of the Dominion are so extended and embrace such varieties of climate, that very seldom will the results of the yearly labour of the husbandman be the same throughout its extent. In one section there may be a plenteous harvest, while in another, famine may prevail. For instance—two years ago, had the North West Territory then belonged to Canada, and a day of thanksgiving been appointed by the Governor General at Ottawa, the people of that district would have been called upon to thank God for a plenteous harvest while they were suffering the utmost destitution from the plague of locusts, and were receiving contributions from all parts of America to save them from actual starvation. So would it have been in Newfoundland at the same time, where great distress prevailed among the people from a failure of their harvest both on land and sea.

I hope that in a few months British Columbia will be added to the Dominion, and with our extending country, the chances of varying harvests will of course be increased. We should be somewhat in the same position as the Queen

would be if she ordered a thanksgiving for a plenteous harvest in England, to take effect throughout all Her dominions. Before Confederation, the Governor of each Province issued his own proclamation, and we think it well that the same practice should continue. We have determined therefore to leave it still in the hands of the several Governors, and in doing so we follow the example of the United States. In case any Lieutenant-Governor should decline to act, it is open to the religious bodies, either separately or by concert, to appoint a time.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Bishop,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Rt. Reverend,
The Lord Bishop of Montreal & Metropolitan,
&c., &c., &c.,
Montreal.

From Colonel C. S. Gzowski[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Toronto, November 6th, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I thank you for your kind note of the 4th which I found last evening on my return from the International Bridge works.

The policy of taking up the question of our canals and water communication to aid the growing trade of the Dominion, as well as offer greater inducement to our Western neighbours to use our water communications, and to put a stop to visionary schemes, is so important that I cannot refuse to aid in the work, and I shall telegraph you accordingly to-morrow morning.

You have selected good men; the programme you have laid out for the Commissioners is a comprehensive one. I am sorry Shanly[2] will not accept the Chairmanship; his knowledge and experience would be of great value. I trust he may yet be prevailed upon to act. Samuel Keefer will make an admirable secretary.

As to the work not taking up too much of my time, that must depend

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1 Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski, K.C.M.G., C.E., A.D.C. to Her late Majesty Queen Victoria. Died, 24th August, 1898. This letter relates to his appointment on a Commission to enquire into the system of Canadian canals with a view to the development of trade. The appointing Minute of Council is dated 16th November, 1870.

2 Walter Shanly, C.E., M.P., a noted engineer, represented the constituency of South Grenville in the House of Commons for many years.

on circumstances. The subject is large, requiring careful consideration, and the work will have to be done with credit to the Government and those entrusted with it. You know *that* generally falls on one or two.

Had I had an opportunity when you were in Toronto, I would have brought to your notice another important subject in connection with the development of the mineral resources of the country; which is the establishment of a school of mines. There is no doubt that this country possesses immense mineral wealth; the new lines of communication now in progress, and others in contemplation offer fresh inducements by facilitating the approach to districts full of minerals, but we are without a competent authority to examine, report, and direct mining operations. Attempts have been made in many places to mine, but for want of proper guidance money was wasted and work abandoned. Our University, with its excellent laboratory, forms a nucleus for such a school. A small grant to make things more suitable to mining and analytical chemistry in connection with minerals, and a museum for mining samples, with an annual subsidy for a professor's chair, and to cover annual explorations with students in advanced class, of mines worked and deposits, will be all that will be required. The benefits will be very great.

Our Geological Survey has done much good, but has offered no direction to mining operations; whilst the numerous attempts that ended in failures, in many instances for want of proper guidance, have done harm and discouraged operations that if properly managed would have opened an immensely valuable industry.

As your labours are for the good of the country, I venture to suggest that the establishment of such a school will be well received, and the benefit arising from it will redound to the credit of the Government that initiated it.

Believe me, my dear Sir John
to remain always,
faithfully yours,
C. S. Gzowski.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

Private. *Ottawa, 18th November, 1870.*

My dear Archibald,

I have seen your despatch about the appointment of a Council for Rupert's Land and the North West, and also the one enclosing the ordinance for the prevention of small-pox.

We are completely at sea here as to the authority under which you think you have a right to make the appointments and to pass the laws. We do not know of the existence of any Executive or Legislative Council with you, except the Council of Assiniboia. It is well, we think, that to avoid

any doubt, a Council should be appointed under our Act of 1868 to aid you in the administration of the affairs of the unorganized territories.

By the way, I see that you style yourself "Lt. Governor of Rupert's Land and the North West Territories". Now your appointment under the Act of last session, and your Commission, constitute you "Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories." The distinction is a small one, but is to be observed. Rupert's Land and the North *Western* Territory are united to Canada by the name of the *North West Territories*. I would suggest your opening separate books under your two Commissions, and keeping your correspondence altogether as distinct as if your Commission were to two different persons. You seem to be getting on very well and I have no doubt will have much satisfaction in your future Government.

We are looking anxiously for your report as to Indian titles both within Manitoba and without; and as to the best means of extinguishing the Indian titles in the valley of the Saskatchewan. Would you kindly give us your views on that point, officially and unofficially? We should take immediate steps to extinguish the Indian titles somewhere in the Fertile Belt in the valley of the Saskatchewan, and open it for settlement. There will otherwise be an influx of squatters who will seize upon the most eligible positions and greatly disturb the symmetry of future surveys. I have a strong idea that in order to relieve you from your numerous and harassing duties, a special Commissioner to deal with Indian Treaties should be appointed to act in concert with and subordinate to yourself as Governor. He would not be authorized to do anything of himself, but his whole time and attention would be directed to the one subject of dealing with Indian matters under your general superintendence.

Pray let me hear from you on this point at once. I am glad to say that my health is keeping up very well.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency,
The Hon. A. G. Archibald,
&c., &c.,
Fort Garry.

From Sir John Macdonald to Hugh Allan, Esq.

Private. *Ottawa, February 3rd, 1871.*

My dear Sir,

I received your telegram about the proposed company for the construction of the Pacific Railway. The Government are in no way connected with any proposed company or companies. Besides the one that you mention, Mr. Waddington, formerly of British Columbia, has given notice of his intention to apply to the Legislature for an Act. We will not in any way connect ourselves with any company; in fact we consider it premature, until the sanction of the Legislature is obtained to the junction of British Columbia, to take any steps at all. The whole matter will be brought before Parliament next session; meanwhile I see no objection to the capitalists of Canada or of England (or of the United States for that matter) joining together and making proposals for the construction of the road. It will be for Parliament, at the proper time, to decide as to the mode in which the railway can best be built with a view to public interests.

Yours faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

Hugh Allan, Esq.,
Montreal.

Early in the year 1871, Sir John Macdonald was nominated a member of the Joint High Commission, appointed to adjust all outstanding differences between Great Britain and the United States. The Commission met in Washington and its deliberations resulted in the Treaty of Washington, 1871, which among other things, effected a satisfactory arrangement with regard to the Atlantic fisheries, long a fruitful source of trouble between the two countries. Copious selections from Macdonald's correspondence relating to that part of the negotiations directly affecting the Dominion, have already been published.[1] I subjoin a letter dealing with the *Alabama* question, the principal issue engaging the attention of the High Commissioners.

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[1] See *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 85–140.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lord Lisgar.

Private & confidential.

The Arlington, Washington, April 7th, 1871.

My dear Lord Lisgar,

We are at length beginning to see land with respect to the *Alabama* question. The Americans wished us to acknowledge liability. This once acknowledged, they would, I think, have been satisfied with a reasonable sum, but we positively refused. We asked that the question should be referred to an arbitrator. The Americans finally agreed to this, on condition that certain principles of International law should be laid down as governing the decisions of the arbitrator and binding on him as an instruction. This proposition has caused lengthened communications with England, but certain principles have now been agreed to by England on condition that they are to be considered as International law between the two nations hereafter, and on condition also that other matters are satisfactorily settled. We do not think that the principles so laid down will injuriously affect England in any of the cases likely to arise before the arbitrator. For the last two days we have been discussing who the arbitrator should be. We are in favour of the head of the State. The Americans object to this as being unpalatable to their people. The present proposition is to refer to a body of jurists, one to be chosen by each nation, and three to be selected by three separate heads of States. This body to have the power, either to find at once a lump sum, or to refer the taking of evidence and assessment of damages to a minor Commission. The Americans propose as the three heads of States—the King of Italy, the Emperor of Brazil, and the President of the Swiss Confederation, and we are now waiting for an answer from England on this head. I have little doubt that England will accede to the general proposal, though she may perhaps object to some of the heads named.

For myself, I think the proposal is infinitely less advantageous to England than the first one of referring to a sovereign power. The Sovereign and his administration would

feel a responsiblity to the whole world in giving judgment. The jurists, on the other hand, may be very good lawyers, but very bad men of business and very crotchety. They may besides be liable to personal influence which England would disdain to use, but which the Yankees would have no scruple in exercising. Thus—suppose the American nominee (who will doubtless be one of their leading politicians) should be promised a commission on the amount of the award; he would have the means of approaching any of his colleagues who had an itching palm. The Emperor would send a Brazilian, with all the civilization of a South American and all the honesty of a Portuguese. You can judge of the Italian and Swiss better than myself, but I remember the adage, '*point d'argent, point de Suisse.*'

With respect to the fisheries * * * I am not in a very enviable position at present as I stand alone. The Americans are constantly depreciating the value of our property, and making absurdly low offers, which my colleagues, in their anxiety for a settlement, are constantly pressing me to yield to. Were it not for the answer that I have at hand that there is no use in my assenting to an arrangement which will not subsequently be ratified, I should have no protection. I have no doubt Lord de Grey thinks me an exceedingly pertinacious person, but ere we finish he will see the advantages that Canada will gain from my firmness.

The weather is very pleasant but relaxing, and I begin to find that the sooner I am out of it the better. We hope to finish our matters one way or the other by the end of this month or the beginning of next.

Cartier seems to be getting on very well with the House, and I am glad to see that my anticipations of Schultz being amenable to reason, seem to be verified.

Pray present our best regards to Lady Lisgar and believe me,

My dear Lord Lisgar,
Yours very faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
Lord Lisgar,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Alex Morris.

Private and confidential.

The Arlington,
Washington, April 21st, 1871.

My dear Morris,

I want you to make arrangements with the friendly newspapers, such as the *Leader*, Montreal *Gazette*, Ottawa *Times and Citizen*, and the Maritime Province papers friendly to the Government, to hold back, if possible, any expression of opinion on the treaty when it is promulgated, until the *Globe* commits itself against the treaty. I want to endeavour so to manage it, as to let the *Globe* write under the impression that I have assented to the treaty. Brown will then pitch into the treaty and into me for sacrificing the interests of Canada. He will afterwards find out, when it is too late, that he is on the same side as myself, and will not be able to retract. My chief object in doing this is, that if Brown finds that I am opposed to the treaty, he will try to find reasons for supporting it. He may take up the loyalty cry, and state that it is the bounden duty of Canada to sacrifice something for the sake of insuring peace to the Empire. This course would give him a strong influential position with the Home Government, which might react prejudicially on our party. The French might, if they found that the Grits were strong in England, continue the coquetting which goes on occasionally between them. It is, therefore, of very considerable consequence that Brown and the *Globe* should be committed irretrievably against the treaty. I shall take care of the Toronto *Telegraph* myself.

I need not say that this is for yourself alone, except in so far, of course, as it may be necessary to get our colleagues to deal with the newspapers influenced by them, and hold them back for a few days after the promulgation of the treaty.

I think you had better not discuss the matter at all with our Quebec colleagues.

Never in the whole course of my public life have I been in so disagreeable a position, and had such an unpleasant

duty to perform as the one in which I am now engaged here. However, the work had to be done, and I am resolved to do it. Congress has adjourned till December, but the Senate is summoned for Executive session on the 10th May.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Alex. Morris,
Ottawa.

From Sir Stafford Northcote to Sir John Macdonald.

1311 K Street, Washington,
May 6th, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

You will see by the enclosed letter that the concession which we have obtained of the free navigation of the Yukon and Porcupine rivers is a very important one. Mr. Bissett, who has served the Hudson's Bay Company in the Western department, tells me that the opening of the Stikine[1] river is also very valuable to us. In truth these rivers afford the chief, and at present the only available outlet, for the produce of a large portion of the North West Territory, including some of our best hunting grounds, and it is a matter of much interest to us to be able to

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[1] This "concession" is incorporated in the Treaty of Washington, 1871, Article XXVI. It was afterwards contended by critics of the International Joint Commission that under the treaty between Great Britain and Russia of the 28/16 February, 1825, Great Britain already enjoyed, forever, the right to navigate the Stikine River. Article VI of that instrument provides:

"VI. It is understood that the Subjects of His Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the Ocean, or from the interior of the Continent, shall for ever enjoy the right of navigating freely, and without any hindrance whatever, all the rivers and streams which, in their course towards the Pacific Ocean, may cross the line of demarcation upon the line of Coast described in Article 3 of the present Convention."

The natural inference from Sir Stafford Northcote's letter is that at the time of the drafting of article XXVI, the British Commissioners did not know of the existence of the Russo-British Treaty of 1825. The question afterwards came up in the Canadian Parliament, where Sir John Macdonald, without directly affirming that he and his fellow-Commissioners at Washington were aware of the provisions of the Treaty at the time of the negotiations of 1871, stated that there was a difference of opinion among international authorities as to whether by the transfer of Alaska to the United States in 1867 the effect of the Treaty of 1825 had not been destroyed.

See *Debates of the House of Commons*, 10th March, 1879, Vol. I, pp. 230–232.

See also Sir Edward Thornton's letter to Sir John Macdonald, dated 14th March, 1879, within, p. 259.

keep the communications in our own hands instead of having to trust to American conveyances.

Believe me,
Yours very faithfully,
STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE.

The Hon.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

P. S. I understand that the Porcupine, and I think the Stikine also is navigable for steamers drawing 5 or 6 feet of water. A line of American steamers is already being placed on the Yukon.

Hudson's Bay Company's Office,
Montreal, 2nd May, 1871.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE,
&c., &c., &c.,
MY DEAR SIR,

I duly received yours of the 26th April, and in reply have to say that the Porcupine is fully as large a river as the Mackenzie, navigable for craft of a certain size for some hundreds of miles—in British territory. The Yukon also, above the forks of the Porcupine, is a smaller stream than the latter, but it also is navigable for a long distance up within the British line.

Mr. Chief Trader James Bissett who lately arrived here from British Columbia, proceeds to Washington to-day, and will explain to you all about the Stikine River from personal knowledge.

You should insist in like manner that the Columbia River should be open to British subjects from its source to its mouth. Fortunately, Mr. Bissett can give you all the information necessary about the Columbia, which has been navigable by steamers under the American flag for some hundreds of miles in what is now known as British Columbia. These are the matters which Mr. Bissett may probably be able to throw some light upon.

I hand you copy of a letter from Washington, dated 13th March, written by Judge Lander to Mr. Justice Day of Montreal who were the Counsel for the Hudson's Bay and N. T. Companies pending the proceeding of the late Commission at Washington, and I would suggest that the matter referred should be made known to the British Minister.

With much respect,
I remain, very truly yours,
DUGALD MACTAVISH.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. J. S. Macdonald.

Private. *Ottawa, June 22nd, 1871.*

MY DEAR SANDFIELD,

The sight of the immense masses of timber passing my windows every morning constantly suggests to my mind the absolute necessity there is for looking at the future of this great trade. We are recklessly destroying the timber of

Canada, and there is scarcely a possibility of replacing it. The quantity of timber reaching Quebec is annually decreasing, and the fires in the woods are periodically destroying millions of money. What is to become of the Ottawa region generally, after the timber is cut away, one cannot foresee. It occurs to me that the subject should be looked in the face and some efforts made for the preservation of our timber. The Dominion Government, having no lands, has no direct interest in the subject, but it seems to me that it would be a very good thing for the two Governments of Ontario and Quebec to issue a Joint Commission to examine the whole subject and to report:—

1st. As to the best means of cutting the timber after some regulated plan, as in Norway and on the Baltic;

2nd. As to replanting so as to keep up the supply as in Germany and Norway, and

3rd. As to the best means of protecting the woods from fires.

The Commission would be a popular one if the men were well chosen, and their report, if drawn with care, would be of incalculable value. I think you might make a good strike by taking this subject up vigorously.

Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. John S. Macdonald,
Cornwall.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Rose.

Private. *Ottawa, 30th November, 1871.*

MY DEAR ROSE,

I have yours of the 10th. I have no doubt that the Hudson's Bay Company will find the benefit of your being at the Board, as you will be able to give them some of your western experiences which, I fancy, they sadly want. I am quite uninformed as to what the future commercial operations of the Company may be, and I am afraid can give you little assistance in the way of suggestion.

Pope[1] has just come up and assumed the duties of his

[1] The Hon. John Henry Pope, Minister of Agriculture in the first Dominion ministry (1871–1873), and in the third ministry (1878–1885); Minister of Railways and Canals (1885–1889). Died, 1st April, 1889. A man upon whose judgment Sir John Macdonald implicitly relied.

new office. He will find a great deal of work to do, but I think he is the man to do it.

Dunkin was most painstaking and conscientious, but really threw himself away on detail. He will make a conscientious, and, I think on the whole, an efficient judge, perhaps a little hair splitting and undecided.

I was glad to learn from your letter that the arrangement with Hugh Allan had fallen through. We want two lines on our route—they will both pay well if well managed.

Gladstone seems to have rather hard times of it; what with the Nonconformists insisting on the abolition of all denominational teaching, and the Irish Catholic hierarchy saying that they will only have denominational teaching, he is "between the devil and the deep sea."

Quoad the treaty and its prospects. The case I think stands thus:— The commercial classes are on the whole in favour of it; the fishermen in Nova Scotia ditto, except those in the Bay of Fundy; the Legislature and the majority of New Brunswick strongly against it; the agriculturists in Ontario ditto, and, I understand, the French rather against than for. The whole Opposition (excepting Holton) will unite against it in Parliament, and will agitate the country at the next elections against it. This our friends in Ontario know, and are afraid of. I fear, therefore, that we cannot rely upon their coming up to the mark. They are a very loyal body of men, but, of course, cannot be expected to court certain defeat at the polls.

A good deal will depend on the action of Congress which meets in a few days. If the tariff reform which is contemplated is of a liberal character, and will affect some of our staples, it will have a beneficial effect here. But Canada feels very sore about the Fenian claims, which were withdrawn to suit Imperial interests; practically she has now no remedy against the United States, and unless the Home Government takes some favourable action, by the time our Parliament meets in February, in the matter, I would not give much for the chances of the treaty. Here we see across our border, Russel Gurney's Commission sitting and investigating the claims of all British subjects, except those of Canada and the Canadians; claims which we all think

are at least as well founded as any of those which will be adjudicated upon at Washington. You can fancy the irritation that this causes, and the extent of the feeling that Canada has been sacrificed all round for the sake of cobbling up an inglorious peace with the United States!

I anticipate a lively session here, as the Opposition will of course try to make their points for the elections; but they will not do us much damage, and if I only keep my health and no untoward event occurs, I think we shall give the Grits a good licking in Ontario. They are working most zealously to recover their lost ground in that Province, and are encouraged by the result of the local elections. Sandfield mismanaged matters and lost six or eight constituencies, but he will still, I believe, have a majority. He quarrelled with the Catholic bishops and lost the Catholic vote, which, however, will, I am satisfied, be true to me at our election.

I have had an attack of quinsy, but have thrown it off, and I am in pretty good health. Whether I shall be able to stand the session I do not know. Sometimes I think it would be well for me to retire from official life. A year's rest from work would I think set me up. Of course I would not leave Parliament in such case. One of the things which prevent me from retiring is that, although the prospects of the treaty are not very flourishing with me in the Government, they would be nowhere if I left it.

We shall be obliged to come down to Parliament next session, with a scheme for the construction of the Pacific Railway. If you saw Hugh Allan, he would probably tell you what he is driving at in that respect. He is connected with strong men in the United States, but my fear is that they will ask a larger subsidy and more land than Parliament will be likely to grant them.

Winter has set in unusually early here. We have, at present, the climate of January and February.

Pray give my best regards to Lady Rose, and

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir John Rose, K.C.M.G.,
Bartholomew Lane, London.

During the absence of Sir John Macdonald at Washington in the spring of 1871, the Ontario Legislature was dissolved and the General Elections prematurely brought on, against the advice of Sir John, who would have preferred their postponement until his return. The result of these elections was unfavourable to John Sandfield Macdonald's administration, which lost several seats, and subsequently so further mismanaged matters as to bring about its defeat in the Assembly by a majority of one vote on the 15th December. Mr. R. W. Scott, a friend and supporter of Sir John Macdonald, represented Ottawa in the Provincial Legislature, and had hitherto supported Sandfield Macdonald's Government, which nominated him for Speaker on the first meeting of the newly elected Legislature. Mr. Scott, who was the special representative in the Ontario Assembly of the Ottawa Valley lumber interests, had a falling out about this time with the Provincial Premier over certain matters connected with the Canada Central Railway, now forming that portion of the Canadian Pacific line running from Ottawa to Pembroke. This estrangement had no little to do with hastening the process of disintegration which for some time past had been going on in the administration ranks.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. John Carling.

Confidential. *Ottawa, 2nd December, 1871.*

My dear Carling,

I have just seen Scott,[1] and I think that he talks reasonably enough. He says that all he wants at present is a simple submission to the courts of the question whether the Canada Central Railway Company has become entitled to any right to grants of land under their Acts of Incorporation, from some source or other. He will not ask for a decision as to whether the late Province of Canada as a whole or the Province of Ontario as a portion of Canada, or the Dominion, ought to give the lands if the Company has a right to them. He desires to leave that for future arrangement. Now it

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Richard Scott, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 187 ; Commissioner of Crown Lands (1871–1873); a Senator of Canada (1873–1913); Secretary of State of Canada (1874-1878 and 1896–1908). Died, 23rd April, 1913.

seems to me that there is no reason or justice in objecting to his proposition.

Scott is in a very delicate position. He feels that if he accepted the Speakership he would be off the floor of the House and unable to fight the battles whose interests have been entrusted to him. It appears to me that he should not be expected to put himself in this position, and I do not see how I can press him. The Dominion Government has no means of intervening in the matter. If any act of mine could help you out of this difficulty, I would be only too glad to aid in doing so, but it is a matter in which we are altogether powerless. If you will telegraph me on Monday that Sandfield agrees to this proposition, I think that Scott will at once consent to be your candidate. There is no time to be lost.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. John Carling,[1]
Toronto.

P. S. What I fear is if you propose anyone else, the Opposition will name Scott. You would lose most of Eastern Ontario on a vote of this kind, and a schism would be established. I hope to receive your telegram saying it is all right before one o'clock on Monday.

J. A. M.D.

From Governor-General the Lord Lisgar to Sir John Macdonald.

13th December, 1871. Midday.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have just signed the senatorial appointments for Manitoba. They were announced as made in the *Times* of this morning. It is considered a point of etiquette in England not to allow such notifications to be made in the papers—(not any reference to the *Gazette*) until after the appointments have been signed by the Queen. I wish you would notify the clerks in the Privy Council Office and Aikins' office, if they are the people in charge, that the English etiquette had better be observed here. Ministers in England are, I hear, very particular on the point.

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir John Carling, K.C.M.G.; Receiver General in the Government of the Province of Canada, 1862; Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works in the Provincial Government of Ontario under the Hon. John S. Macdonald (1867–1871); Postmaster General of Canada (1882–1885); Minister of Agriculture of Canada (1885–1892). Died, 6th November, 1911.

I had a communication from the Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland yesterday about the chances of union. He says the Unionists are quite prepared to fight the battle again whenever an opportunity is afforded them. But in the meantime, two elections have gone against them, without contest, and the people having had good fishing seasons are in (for them) good circumstances, averse to change, and contented with their present Government, to whom they are disposed to give credit for good management and the prosperity which exists.

Believe me,
Very truly yours,
LISGAR.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

From the Hon. R. W. Scott, to Sir John Macdonald.

Private and confidential. *Toronto, 20th December, 1871.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Sandfield was quite unequal to the management of this House from the start, and it became merely a question of time how soon a crisis would be eventuated. I clearly foresaw this, and it became evident to me that his inability to cope with the difficulties here, vainly struggling against questions that he could not meet [*sic*].

In the first place, his adjournment of the House, or rather the prorogation of it by the Lieutenant-Governor, would be charged to you, and would be a dangerous cry at the Commons election, and while you would get no credit for anything good, you would be held responsible for all his errors. Sandfield has *now no followers*. His race is run. With the commonest tact he could have ruled for four years. It is idle to discuss all the causes that brought it about. A senseless hostility to Ottawa interests was only *one* of the many causes. The new Government will be a powerful one, and there is an old saying "What can't be cured must be endured."

The point now really to consider is how best can the tone of the Local be modified so as not to disturb you in the Commons.

When Sandfield's fall became evident on Monday morning, Blake and McKenzie discussed the new order of things likely to arise, with me; I told them I feared it might be used against my friends at Ottawa, and if so I could not favour it. They made all sorts of protestations and assurances that it should [not], and if they had anything to do with the formation of a new Government, I might rest assured there should be not only no antagonism, but every effort would be made on their parts to make it politically neutral to the Government at Ottawa, and in all other respects, in terms of courtesy and generosity.

Yesterday Blake was sent for at four o'clock, and afterwards said he wished to consult me. We did not meet, however, after, and this morning he came to me and said he was most anxious for me to join his Cabinet, offering me any portfolio I chose to name. I told him it was impossible; that my alliances with yourself were of such a nature that they were

insurmountable. He said again, and argued earnestly, that the best feeling should prevail between the Governments at Ottawa and Toronto, and that my going in would be the best security that the Local Government should not lend its influence against you at the next election; that I should myself be guardian of the interests of my friends; that if I declined he would have to take in representatives west of Kingston.

I declined to give an answer until I could consult with my friends. He has reserved the Crown Lands for me, if I wish it, or can afterwards take any other.

Now, Sir John, I think I can tone down matters by my presence here. Personally, I do assure you honestly, I would rather not go in. But when I come to think of the interests of Eastern Ontario which are now likely to go by the board if the Government is purely Western, it becomes a matter for grave consideration what I should do.

You see there is the lumber trade, of which I have always been the special representative. There are the railway interests in the Ottawa country. I am bound in honour to see the Canada Central get its rights, as I am mainly responsible for the expenditure of the half million of English capital that has gone in. (I need scarcely say to you that after the telegram you sent Carling, Sandfield never passed the Order-in-Council. Time went by and nothing was ever done. It was a *regular sell.*) Then again, there is this question of the Municipal Loan Fund, Ottawa being in debt to over $260,000.

The new Government, you may rely on it, will live for many years, and if it is to be a western one it may be ruinous to our friends in the trade. I have not time to write more, as it is just 3 P.M. See Sir Francis, show him this letter and talk it over. I have yet spoken to *no one* of its contents. Telegraph me to-morrow, in cypher, using S for A.

The Government will be a strong one, but I think I can tone it. If it does not suit the book, say so. In no case will I decide till I see you and other friends personally.

R. W. S.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. R. W. Scott.

Telegram. *Ottawa, 21st December, 1871.*

Hincks and I will not offer you advice against taking office. Let your position and the relations between two Governments be secured by writing.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From the Hon. John Carling to Sir John Macdonald.

Private and confidential. *Toronto, 21st December, 1871.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I had intended writing you some days ago with reference to the position of affairs here, but have been so engaged I really had not an earlier opportunity. You received my telegram that we had tendered our resigna-

tion—after what happened, there was nothing left for us but to resign. Had we not been deserted by such men as Deacon, McCall, Wood (Victoria), McManus and Boultbee, (all of whom voted for us on the direct vote of want of confidence when the Grits had only a majority of *one*) we should have been in a different position. Our friend R. W. Scott used all his influence to get those I have named to vote *against* us, and as a reward for this, it is strongly rumoured that he is to have a seat in the Cabinet. You are aware of the trouble between Scott and Sandfield respecting the Canada Central matter. I did all I could to heal the difficulties, but Sandfield, as you know, has peculiar notions, and he never pulled with Scott.

Privately, I may say to you that, personally, I am very glad to get out of office. The responsibility and worry were very great, and I am glad to have done with it. I can conscientiously say that I tried to do my best, and if we have been unable to retain power, it has been from no fault of mine. I took office in 1867 at your suggestion, and have to thank you for all your kindness to me. I think that possibly matters might have been better managed, but you know Sandfield is occasionally stubborn, and has peculiarities. If he had been more conciliatory and had taken the advice of his friends, the result might have been different. These vain regrets are useless however.

One of the chief objects I had in view was to keep the Grits out of power until after the Dominion elections. I am afraid their accession to office will have a bad effect. Nothing should now be left undone by our friends in organizing and preparing the contest next summer.

Some days ago Belford called on me and made me promise to write you respecting the proposed new paper. I wrote the enclosed with my views of the matter, which you will take for what they are worth, but held it over till now.

I was sorry to hear that you were unwell, but I hope you have quite recovered.

Wishing you many happy returns of the season,

Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN CARLING.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Lisgar.

Private. *Ottawa, 28th December, 1871.*

MY DEAR LORD LISGAR,

You received a despatch dated 27th July last from Lord Kimberley, asking if an amending Act had been passed in the previous session removing the cause of complaint of the North German Confederation. I was absent when you sent that despatch to Council, and, therefore, not aware whether you replied to it or not. In case you should not

have done so, you can report that by the Act of last session, 34 Vic., Cap. 10, the duty complained of was repealed.

Do not you think that it would be well for you to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the clause in the treaty in question?[1] By it, England actually prevents her own Colonies from opening their markets free to England if they desire to do so. In other words, unless we do away with our import duties with respect to all the world, we cannot treat English manufacturers otherwise than as foreigners.

I hope to live to see the day when the British Empire will be considered as a unit, and the interchange of commodities will be as free from duties between the United Kingdom and its Colonies, as has been the case since 1800 between England and Ireland. The treaty in question expires in 1877, and I hold that in the present relation between the Dominion and England, it cannot properly be renewed with the clause I refer to as it now stands, without Canada's consent.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency the Governor-General,
Rideau Hall, Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. M. C. Cameron.

Confidential. *Ottawa, January 3rd, 1872.*

MY DEAR CAMERON,

Thanks for your kind letter of the 31st. I think I cannot do better than tell you the whole Scott story from the beginning.

The week before your session commenced, I got a letter from Carling urging me to see Scott and induce him to accept the Speakership. As I thought his appointment would be a good coup, I readily acted, and talked Scott into taking the chair. He was exceedingly irate at Sandfield for his treatment about the Canada Central, and to put matters right, sundry telegrams passed between Carling and myself which resulted in Scott's agreeing to be nominated. The session commenced, your troubles came on, and you resigned.

I received a telegram from Scott informing me that he had been offered office, that he had written me in full, and asking

[1] The reference here is to the treaty with the Zollverein dated, 30th May, 1865, article 7.

me to show the letter to Hincks. Having ascertained that the mail would be late in consequence of the snow, I telegraphed him accordingly.

In the morning I was waited upon by a number of the lumbermen who said they had received telegrams from Scott, asking them to come and see me as to his taking office. My reply was that Scott had telegraphed me that he had written in full, and that I could not discuss the matter with them until I heard from him further. I said that I would see them again in the afternoon after Scott's letter had arrived. The letter arrived but was marked private and confidential. In it Scott asked me to see Hincks and answer him back in cypher. The lumbermen saw me again, and I told them that his letter was marked private and confidential, and, therefore, that I was not in a position to discuss the matter with them at all. I said that Scott would be down, and would no doubt make his own explanations to them.

I may say that Scott wrote that under no circumstances would he take office until he had conferred with me and his other friends personally. I therefore expected that the lumbermen would not finally decide upon any course, until Scott arrived. They were unanimous in favour of his taking office, for obvious reasons. In this, I think, they were mistaken, because Scott cannot even do them justice now without being suspected, but that was their affair.

Much to my surprise, before I could answer Scott's letter, I received a telegram informing me that he had been sworn in that day; in fact he must have been sworn in before my second conversation with the lumbermen. On receipt of his letter, and before receiving intelligence of his having taken office, I saw Hincks, and we talked the position fully over. We agreed that it was quite evident that he was going to take office whatever advice we might give him, and we prepared a reply in cypher somewhat to this effect,—that we would not offer advice against his taking office, but that he should take care that his relations with his colleagues, and between the two Governments, should be ascertained in writing. This was, you must understand, in the expectation that according to his promise, he would take no step without first talking the whole matter over with us here. Before our telegram

left Ottawa, the news that he was sworn in arrived. My telegram in fact had gone to the telegraph office a few minutes before I received the information of his being sworn in, and my first impulse was to stop it, but after talking the matter over with Hincks, I let it go.

I may say to you that Scott's letter stated in the strongest terms that he remained a Conservative; that his Conservative alliances were to be unbroken, and that Blake and Mackenzie assented to this. In fact the letter completely commits him and them. Being a private letter, I cannot yet use it, but I will be able to do so in a day or two, if necessary, as I have ascertained that he showed my telegram in answer, to two M.P.P.'s. So soon as I get their statement to that effect in writing, I can use his letter at the right time. Meanwhile I have got a telegram not marked private, addressed to the Hon. James Skead, and to Mr. Perley, a leading lumberman here, stating in the strongest terms that he remains a member of the Conservative party to all intents and purposes. This I have Skead's permission to use at any time.

So matters stood when Scott arrived. He came to see me and we had a long conversation together. I received him in a friendly way; at the same time I did not hesitate to tell him that I thought he had made a mistake—that he ought not to have gone into the arrangement, and would have very great difficulty in keeping his name free from the stain of treachery; and that he would have hard work to sever himself in public opinion from Wood, whose reputation, if he ever had any, was damned to all eternity.

He denied in the strongest language that he had in any way intrigued against Sandfield's Government. He said that he had not hesitated to state to Sandfield himself, as to others, that he ought to have resigned on the vote of want of confidence, but that he had no conversation with the other side until after your Government had fallen. That then he had to consider that he was charged with great interests—that the interests of this section of the country, especially the lumber interest, would fare badly if Blake were forced to take western men exclusively—that besides, he had by his personal assurances got English capitalists to put their money into the Canada Central, and that he felt himself bound to protect them. He further said that when Blake

spoke to him he replied that it was impossible for him to go into the Government in consequence of his Conservative alliances—that Blake answered that he need not be deterred by that, as he would be at liberty to steer his own course, and to act with his own friends in Dominion matters and the general politics of the country as a whole—that the Local Government had a specified and restricted range of action, and that as their sentiments agreed upon the subjects of legislation committed to the Local Government, he might safely come in.

I asked him why he had been sworn in before the personal conference which he had promised to have with Hincks and myself. His reply was that Blake had agreed to the delay, but found that the objection taken by the Opposition against granting a vote of credit with an incomplete administration, had great weight with his followers and might prevail, and that therefore it was necessary to fill the Government at once. Blake said that as he was obliged to fill in the office without delay, unless Scott agreed to take it, he must ask O'Donoghue or some other western Catholic. Scott had in the meantime received a series of telegrams from his friends here advising him to accept, and under the combined pressure of Blake and his friends, he consented. A great deal more passed between us, the general result being that my opinion as to his mistake was unchanged. I also told him that as he was an old personal and political friend and supporter, I did not desire to see him politically and socially ruined—that I thought he might, although it would be very difficult, retain, or rather regain, his position in public estimation if he steered a straight course, distinctly defining his position as a Conservative, and acting steadily with the Conservative party on general questions. I said to him that he was bound to act with every fairness towards his new colleagues, and not embarrass them in their local sphere; but, that he should take great care not to drift into Grittism which he would find it very hard to avoid.

I asked him what he was going to do about the local elections that were about going on. His reply was that when a Conservative and a Grit were running, if the Conservative promised to give the Government a fair trial, he would not interfere, but that of course he must work against

any person who was determined to oppose Blake's Government. I said that this was reasonable enough, and so we parted.

In taking the course with Scott that I have just described to you, I was actuated by my usual desire to make the best of a bad state of things. He might possibly have been defeated here, but it would have been a desperate contest, as the whole of the lumbering interest, who look forward to all kinds of arrangements about limits, would have spent any amount of money to secure his election. And he had managed by an unsparing use of the wires to secure answers from most of the leading people in Ottawa, promising support. Besides, the assumption of a hostile position with regard to him, would have driven him bodily over to the Grits, and this would have gone a great way in sending the whole Catholic body with him.

As it is now, the Government is a coalition one to all intents and purposes, and the name which you use in your letter of the "Blake-Scott Administration" should be fastened upon the new Government. My opinion is that you should, in the Legislature, direct all your fire against Blake and the Reform section of the Government for having belied all their professions and principles in taking in Scott. You should avoid driving Scott into Grittism, that is to say, you should avoid imputing personal dishonour to him. By not making him too much of a black sheep, you will keep him there, a disintegrating element in the Government. I believe that his being there, has sown the seeds of dissolution in Blake's ministry, and the seed will fructify ere long. Of course you will be obliged to express regret at the course he has taken, but it should be done in a kindly manner. If he is irritated into rising in his place and stating that he is a Grit, and as good a Grit as either Blake or Mackenzie, you will lose the great advantage you have of treating the Government as a coalition one.

From a Dominion point of view I think it is not desirable that you should force Blake to dissolve, unless you are sure of defeating him on a popular question. Sandfield went to the country prematurely last spring, and you are not ready yet for another fight at the polls; give them a little rope, and they will hang themselves.

My idea is this—that in the summer or autumn the Dominion elections should be brought on, and if, as I believe it will, the result of the elections shows that we hold our own at all well in Ontario, and are thereby in possession of the reins for the next five years, we can bring a tremendous leverage to help you in the Local Legislature in the session of 1872–73. If a new local election takes place before Blake has had a fair trial, the verdict of the country will go against you, and that will greatly damage, if not destroy, our chances at the Dominion elections. Depend upon it, the long game is the true one.

The great reason why I have always been able to beat Brown is that I have been able to look a little ahead, while he could on no occasion forego the temptation of a temporary triumph.

I shall be obliged to go up to Toronto in a few days on my own matters, as my office will be transferred there from Kingston ere long. I hope then to have the pleasure of talking this matter over more at length. I will take up all the letters, etc., to which I have referred, and show them to you. This is a long yarn, but I have not time to make it shorter.

Believe me,
My dear Cameron,
Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. M. C. Cameron,
Toronto.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Consul General of Spain at Quebec.

Ottawa, January 13th, 1872.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, enclosing me a communication from His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Madrid.

I have received this communication, notifying me that His Catholic Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon me the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Isabel la Católica, with feelings of pride and satisfaction. I only did

my duty to my own Sovereign[1] in taking the necessary steps to prevent any hostile expedition being fitted out, or sailing from Canada for the purpose of attacking a portion of the domains of an ally of Her Majesty; and I am gratified to know that this service has been thought worthy, by His Catholic Majesty, of the high honour of which you have been so good as to notify me.

I have the honour to remain,
With the highest consideration,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Señor Don J. M. De Satriestequi,
Consul General of Spain,
Quebec.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Lisgar.

Private. *Ottawa, February 27th, 1872.*

MY DEAR LORD LISGAR,

We would suggest the following telegram—"My Council desire to act in unison with England in the present exigency.[2] Have you any advice or suggestion to make?"

This may serve to show that we are not indifferent as to the trouble England has got into.

Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Lord Lisgar.

From Sir Francis Hincks to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, Friday morning, 1st March, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am bound by my duty to you as well as to myself not to lose any time in conveying to you my sentiments regarding Mr. Howe's lecture.[3] When I read that lecture on Wednesday, I felt it wholly impossible that I could

[1] This refers to the action taken by Sir John Macdonald as Minister of Justice to frustrate an attempt made in the summer of 1871 by a few hotheads in Montreal to procure the enrolment of volunteers for a filibustering expedition against Cuba.

[2] This refers to the strained relations between England and the United States existing at this time over a phase of the *Alabama* question known as the *Indirect Claims*. See, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, pp. 148–9.

[3] The reference here is to a lecture delivered by the Hon. Joseph Howe before the Young Mens' Christian Association of Ottawa on the 27th February, 1872, in which he forcibly criticized England's attitude towards her colonies. See *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 151 and 324.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald, K. C. B.
Age 57 1872

remain in a Government which permitted one of its members to avow publicly the opinions expressed in the political portion of the paper. I own that I did not doubt that the unanimous opinion of the members of your Government would be that the lecture must be completely suppressed. I can discover no difficulty in the adoption of this course, as Mr. Howe might with great propriety either announce himself, or have an announcement made for him, that, in compliance with the desire of his colleagues unanimously expressed, he had felt it his duty to suppress certain remarks on the Imperial and foreign relations of the Dominion. I own that I was much disappointed at the tone of the discussion yesterday, and had more than once determined to write you my resignation. I thought, however, that as no decision was arrived at, it was only due to you that before arriving at any, you should be made aware of my views. The Government is in a dilemma in my opinion. There are four courses open: 1st—publication of pamphlet accompanied by Mr. Howe's retirement; 2nd—publication of the lecture as printed; 3rd—publication with certain eliminations; 4th—suppression. Now I trust that I need hardly declare that the first course would be one that would be most repugnant to my feelings, and especially as I have felt it my duty to condemn the lecture so strongly. The 2nd course I think would be indefensible, and one that I could not vindicate. The 3rd I think even less defensible than the 2nd, and as it was actually suggested yesterday for Mr. Howe's approval and as, if accepted by him, would probably have been adopted, I must give you my reasons for not concurring in it. If the lecture were published as delivered, no one would imagine that any member of the Government was responsible to any greater extent than permitting Mr. Howe to use what I am bound to affirm is very objectionable language. But if you assume the task of correcting, then you become responsible for all that is not expunged. The Government would, in my opinion, incur a greater responsibility by adopting the 3rd than the 2nd course. If the pamphlet be promptly suppressed by Mr. Howe at the request of his colleagues, the Opposition can make very little use of it against the Government, which will have sufficiently protected itself. I may add that there is a great deal in the lecture of which I wholly disapprove, and nothing would satisfy me but the elimination of the political matter from page 17 to 21. I seem to differ so much on this question from yourself and all my colleagues, that it will be much better for me to absent myself from the meeting of Council to-day. I do not wish to join in a discussion, the object of which is to persuade Mr. Howe to take a course which, in my judgment, would be discreditable to the Government, viz., to amend the political portion of the pamphlet. I regret that so much delay has taken place in dealing with this very important matter, for the decision of the Government should be uninfluenced by outside opinion from the press or the public. As far as I am concerned personally, I feel that if such language as that used by Mr. Howe should be tolerated by the people of Canada, I have no desire to remain a single day longer in public life.

Faithfully,
F. Hincks.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Rose.

Private. *Ottawa, March 5th, 1872.*

My dear Rose,

I am afraid that I am greatly in arrears with you, but I have been away in the West and have been very busy since my return home.

As to the position of matters in Canada, I cannot say much until our session is over. We have postponed its meeting until the 11th April being almost the last day possible. This was done on a hint from England in order to give an opportunity of some solution of the *Alabama* matter.

It is stated in the American newspapers that the House Committee on Foreign relations, to which Committee were referred the several bills for carrying the treaty into effect, is not going to report upon them at present, but will hold them over until some further progress is made in the correspondence about the Geneva reference. Should such prove to be the case, we may be spared the trouble of dealing with the subject for another year. However, there is no use in speculating upon that at present.

You ask me in one of your letters whether the St. Alban's Raid claims were really presented. I cannot answer that question, as I have little or no communication with Washington, there being, as you may probably be aware, a coolness between the Ambassador and the Governor-General. I think however, beyond a doubt, that those claims will be presented, as indeed, why should they not?

Next session we shall have a new Representation Bill, adding nine members to our House of Commons, and will take the opportunity of readjusting the boundaries of some of the Western constituencies. We have a surplus of six millions and hope to carry a Pacific railway scheme. We shall afterwards go to the country (some time in the summer or autumn) with, I think very good prospects. Everything is *couleur de rose* except in Ontario, which, as usual, will be the battle ground. I am satisfied however that if my health is spared, we will hold our own there. Sandfield's upset was unfortunate in one respect, but his suc-

cessor has been making a series of blunders which, I think, must do us some good in the West.

I am, as you may fancy, exceedingly desirous of carrying the elections again; not from any personal object, because I am weary of the whole thing, but Confederation is only yet in the gristle, and it will require five years more before it hardens into bone. It is only by the exercise of constant prudence and moderation that we have been able to prevent the discordant elements from ending in a blow-up. If good constitutional men are returned, I think that at the end of five years, the Dominion may be considered safe from being prejudiced by any internal dissension.

We owe you our best thanks for your attention to the Northern Pacific prospectus. I should like to know how the railway stands in the English market, as to its bonds and general credit. There is a general impression, I find, at New York, that the whole thing must end in a fiasco, which may perhaps be disastrous, even to Jay Cooke & Co. I would be very sorry if this should be the case—at all events until they have finished the railroad connecting Duluth with Pembina. After that, we Canadians can afford to view any further western extension with considerable philosophy.

You are quite right in your mode of dealing with the matter with Mr. McCulloch. While we wish it to be known that we are going to build a railway of our own, we do not in any way desire to prejudice the fortunes of the Northern Pacific. The more modes of communication there are across the continent, the better for the whole continent, and you can assure anyone who speaks to you on the matter that we would rather aid the progress of the Northern Pacific than impede it. They, on the other hand, however must not by assuming to be the Canadian road, prejudice our enterprise.

Poor old Howe has been making a fool of himself in a lecture before the Young Mens' Christian Association here. He took a fling generally at the withdrawal of the troops, the desire of England to throw off the Colonies; the buying of her own peace at the sacrifice of our interests; the "comedy of errors" into which she has blundered, and all that sort of thing. It very nearly ended in his sending in his resignation; but although he has outlived his usefulness, he has not lost his powers of mischief. From fear of his doing damage

in Nova Scotia, which is yet but a slumbering volcano, I felt it right to accept his disclaimers and excuses, although much against my will. If you ever look at our papers you will see that the *Globe* is at him on the subject, and not without reason. It will be made a considerable handle against us, but we must put up with it as best we may.

As his statements are quite opposed in spirit to all our communications with Her Majesty's Government, should you hear his speech alluded to in any quarter, you must take the trouble to explain that his remarks are evidence of his senility and nothing more, and that you have reason to believe that he was severely snubbed for his pains, and obliged to suppress his speech which was printed in pamphlet form. Some copies of it have got out unfortunately, but we cannot help that. Many thanks for the two volumes of Hertslet's Index. I shall be very glad to get the maps.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir John Rose.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Lisgar.

Private and confidential. *Ottawa, March 14th, 1872.*

MY DEAR LORD LISGAR,

I do not suppose that Mr. Howe's unfortunate speech will reach the Colonial Office, but as it has attracted some attention in the press here, perhaps it may do so. I therefore think it well to state to you that his address to the Young Mens' Christian Association has been read by my colleagues and myself with the greatest regret.

We have not hesitated to express to Mr. Howe our united disapprobations. We found that his address had been printed in pamphlet form, and called upon him to suppress it. He did so, but some copies had been previously obtained from the printer, hence the discussion in our newspapers. That portion of his speech which speaks of the growing feeling in England to throw off the colonies, would have been harmless from the lips of anyone but a cabinet minister. Coming from him, the tone of despondency as to the future of Canada, was, to say the least of it, unfortunate.

We considered as still more objectionable, his reference

to "England's recent diplomatic efforts to buy her own peace at the sacrifice of our interests," and to "that comedy of errors into which she had blundered," and we told Mr. Howe that considering the present uncomfortable relations between England and the United States, his language was inexcusable, and that the tone was anti-British and disloyal, and quite at variance with the communication that we had, through Your Excellency, conveyed to Lord Kimberley of our desire to act in unison with Her Majesty's Government in the present exigency. My colleagues felt too that the language was personally disrespectful to myself, considering the position that I had held as a member of the Joint High Commission. The personal matter I readily overlooked, but the political offence was not so easily dealt with. After full consideration however, and believing that Mr. Howe, although too late, has been convinced of his indiscretion, I have thought it better, in the public interest, to take no further notice of the affair.

A publicly expressed censure would have involved the necessity of Mr. Howe's retirement from the ministry. His doing so would have given additional strength and encouragement to the opposition that we expect in Parliament to the ratification of the fishery articles of the Washington treaty. Moreover, Nova Scotia is still in an unsettled state. While I am glad to know that by degrees the people of that province are becoming more reconciled to the Union, it is certain that the anti-Confederation feeling still exists there to a considerable extent.

Mr. Howe, though now an old man, and not so vigorous as formerly, has still great influence there and might rekindle the expiring flame of discontent. I have therefore thought it right to pass over this unfortunate affair. Would you kindly convey to Lord Kimberley the feeling of regret and disapprobation with which we all regard this escapade of Howe, so that if his attention has been called in any way to it, he may know what our feelings are with respect thereto.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Lisgar,
Yours very faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Lord Lisgar.

From Sir Francis Hincks to Sir John Macdonald.

Thursday morning, 11th April, 1872.

My dear Sir John,

In a note which I addressed to you on Friday last, I expressed my anxiety about the position of the Government with reference to Mr. Howe's lecture, and my apprehension that Mr. Howe would make a speech for which I would be unable to take the responsibility. My anxiety has not been lessened by what passed yesterday in Council. If a rupture be inevitable, I am of opinion that it will be far more creditable that it should take place in the Council Chamber than in the House of Commons. The Government will be, and ought to be, held responsible for what Mr. Howe may say, and it is my unalterable determination to leave the Government, if it permits him to use or to defend the language of his lecture. I myself see no difficulty in arranging the matter, but it would be unfair to Mr. Howe, as well as to you, if he should make his speech in ignorance of the consequences. My position is this:— If my claim, which I again urge, of having the policy of the Government settled in Council, be ignored, I may possibly be forced to cross the House suddenly, and this I need scarcely assure you would be most repugnant to my feelings. The passage which causes me the greatest apprehension is that referring to England's efforts "to buy her own peace at the sacrifice of our own interests."

Faithfully yours,

F. Hincks.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Lisgar.

Private. *Ottawa, April 20th, 1872.*

My dear Lord Lisgar,

I have reported in favour of the transmission to the Colonial Secretary of the Joint Address of the two Houses of the Legislature of Manitoba to the Queen.[1] I shall be very much obliged by your intimating to Lord Kimberley that there need be no hurry in sending the answer, as it is only required to be ready for the meeting of the Legislature of Manitoba next winter. The general elections will be over long before that time, and it will be of little consequence what the answer may be. In the present excitable state of the population at Fort Garry, it is important that no answer should be sent. A refusal of an amnesty would excite the French halfbreeds to madness, and granting an amnesty would excite the British settlers to the same extent. After the elections are over, my own

[1] Relative to the recent disturbances at Red River. See Journals, Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 1872, pp. 37–38.

opinion is that an amnesty for all offences, except murder, would be advisable. This, however, is only my own opinion, and there is no necessity for discussing it in Council just now.

I have re-read the impudent memorial of Ritchot and Scott. Most of their statements will require a specific denial, and I shall see Cartier on the subject at once. They attempt to drag him and myself into the matter in a way that we must both resent. Their statement of what occurred between themselves and Your Excellency is also altogether false, and must be repudiated. I shall send you a draft of the reply in a day or two.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Lisgar,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency the Governor-General,
Rideau Hall.

From the Hon. S. L. Tilley to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Ottawa, May 25th, 1872.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

When we discussed Costigan's[1] resolution on Wednesday last, I hoped that matters might have assumed a shape that would have warranted my remaining in the Government, though I confess it was hoping against hope, and my worst fears have been realized.

I am now satisfied that my voting for Chauveau's resolution, or remaining silent and declining to vote at all, will completely destroy me politically, (to say nothing of the consequences to the Province I represent, and the course of the Union generally, should either Chauveau's or Costigan's resolutions be carried) and place me in a position to bring no strength to your Government, but possibly weakness. I therefore feel it my duty to take the earliest opportunity of letting you know that I see no course open for me but to ask you to relieve me from embarrassment by accepting my resignation. It is painful for me to sever the connection that has so pleasantly existed since 1867, and nothing but a sense of public duty and self-preservation could have induced me to take this course.

I am
My dear Sir John,
Ever yours,
S. L. TILLEY.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

[1] Relating to the Separate School Question in the Province of New Brunswick. See Journals of the House of Commons, 1872, p. 134.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. W. H. Pope.[1]

Private. *Ottawa, June 17th, 1872.*

My dear Pope,

I have yours of the 11th. I shall be very glad to do all I can for your son,[2] and will speak to Tilley about him.

We are quite ready to receive Prince Edward Island into the Confederation, but must leave you to manage it your own way.

Yours sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

The Hon. W. H. Pope,
Charlottetown, P. E. I.

From Sir Stafford Northcote to Sir John Macdonald.

86 Harley Street W., June 19, 1872.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,

I have been intending for some days to write to you, and to thank you for the copy of your great speech,[3] which I have read with much admiration. It has struck every one here, as no doubt it has in Canada, as a masterly production, and I am sure you deserve all manner of congratulations. Mr. Disraeli, who is not lavish in such matters, says, "very good and statesmanlike"; and that is the general verdict.

You will, of course, know long before this reaches you, what I, at the moment of writing, do not know, the result of the proceedings at Geneva.[4] I am inclined to think they will lead to the ruling-out of the indirect claims,

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[1] The Hon. William Henry Pope: one of the Fathers of Confederation: afterwards a County Court judge in Prince Edward Island. Died, 7th October, 1879.

[2] Afterwards Sir Joseph Pope.

[3] In support of the Treaty of Washington, 1871. Delivered in the House of Commons, 3rd May, 1872. See Hansard of that date, pp. 293–354.

[4] This relates to the proceedings of the Arbitral Tribunal constituted under Article I of the Treaty of Washington, 1871, providing for the reference of all claims, generically known as the "*Alabama* claims," to arbitration. These were claims against Great Britain for losses sustained by the depredations of the *Alabama* and other vessels against United States commerce during the American Civil War. An attempt made by the United States Government to include in these claims, not only the losses sustained by individual American citizens, but indirect, constructive, consequential and national claims of every description, amounting, according to Mr. Gladstone's estimate, to sixteen hundred million pounds, very nearly broke up the Tribunal. These indirect claims were, however, ruled out, and the Arbitration proceeded. The decision given on the 14th September, 1872, awarded $15,500,000 in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States.

and that the arbitration will proceed. The Americans have behaved shamefully, but I believe they are aware of it, and that they will be very glad to get out of their present position by almost any means. I could not have believed that Mr. Fish would lend himself to such a transaction. However, all will be well if it ends well; and it will be a comfort to see the treaty saved, if it can be saved, for one grudges the time spent on a failure.

I hope you have got well through your session, and that Lady Macdonald is quite well, though, by the way, I have a quarrel to pick with her in regard of a certain photograph which I "understood" her to have promised me. I hope I was not wrong in being satisfied with a "less accurate" engagement on the part of a countrywoman, than it seems we ought to exact from an American.

I remain,
Faithfully yours,
STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald,

From the Lord Lisgar to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *London, 16th July, 1872.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Lord Kimberley has taken a note of your wishes about the P. C. ship. They will be attended to, and the conferring the honour postponed until after the general election in Canada. I made the following recommendations as to the Order of St. Michael and St. George: Sir F. Hincks, to be promoted to a G.C.M.G. For K.C.M.G.'s—Cartier, Campbell, Tupper, Tilley, Draper—Ch. Justice; For C.M.G.'s: Archibald and Bernard. Hincks, Cartier, Archibald and Bernard will be accepted, I think, at once, or after the general election—Campbell, Tupper, and Tilley in a short time hereafter. Lord K. will write to Lord Dufferin about these matters by his post. Draper, Lord K. would not hear of at any price, but I fancy he would make him Sir Wm. or whatever his christian name is, and if he accepts, as an English judge would, I think you ought to pay the fees out of some special fund, if you have any fund in hand applicable to the purpose. For myself, I look on it as supremely ridiculous and unfair—the charging meritorious persons who may not have large fortunes, with high fees, because the Crown thinks them deserving of and confers honours upon them.

At the War Office I heard the Horse Guards authorities had withdrawn their objection to Cartier's promotions. They say they see no military reasons against them. I think they might have seen this months ago, and think myself aggrieved by the position of resistance in which they placed me. The fact, I fancy, is that as the treaty of Washington appears to be safe, and there is every prospect of a long continuance of amicable relations with the United States, the Horse Guards think there is little likelihood of British and Canadian troops being called upon to act together, and are, therefore, disposed to overlook the inconveniences which in such event of united action, they considered at first likely to ensue.

I have taken my seat in Parliament at Gladstone's earnest, pressing

instance, and voted like a man to adopt the Commons amendments on the Ballot Bill. Several Tories voted with us, and some seceded. The Duke of Manchester said to Charles Villiers: "We seceders saved the Constitution." C. V. replied, "Ah yes, the Capitol you mean."

Gladstone, I am told, stands better and steadier than he did at the commencement of the session. The W. treaty settlement; Cardwell's army bills, and the ballot have set him back on his legs. Personally, he is a great force. I had a long conversation with him early on Tuesday after my arrival. He talked away incessantly. There are, however, great difficulties in store for next session, and it may be doubted whether he will weather the work of disintegration in his own party. This is the real danger.

I hope to get away from London and back to *peace* and *quiet* in Ireland early in August. While there, we eat our own lamb, and my hay has been prosperously saved. You will perhaps hear of my distinguishing myself at an agricultural exhibition.

Lady Lisgar joins me in kind remembrance and good wishes to you and Lady Macdonald and, I am, Believe me,

Very truly yours,

LISGAR.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

Lord Lisgar ceased to be Governor-General on the 21st June and, after a short interregnum, was succeeded by the Earl of Dufferin, who lost no time in acquainting the Prime Minister with his requirements.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Rivière du Loup,
July 24th, 1872.

Private and confidential.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have written you a semi-official letter, to which, I trust, you will be able to give favourable consideration. I confess I feel very strongly on the two points alluded to, and I am disposed to press them upon your attention, on grounds totally distinct from any which concern my personal convenience.

With regard to a summer residence at Quebec, I apprehend that there will be ultimately no difficulty. The local authorities have shown every desire to accommodate us, and if we have hitherto failed in finding a lodging, it is solely owing to the fact that there is literally no house to be had. I received a telegram from Colonel Fletcher last night to say that, as a last resource, Mr. Langevin, to whose extreme kindness we are very much indebted, talks of fitting up the old artillery barracks into which we can put for the present some hired furniture, but next year I trust that Spencer Wood itself may be placed at our disposal. I have reason to be

lieve that had it not been for Lady Belleau's illness, we might have been accommodated this season in that charming villa.

The question of the steamer concerns, of course, your ministry and the Dominion Parliament, but considering how rapidly civilization is extending westward, and how desirable it is that the social unity of the various provinces should be stimulated and confirmed by the occasional presence, at the principal centres of population, of the chief of the Executive, the one authority common to them all and to the mother country, I should hope that the slight expenditure I have suggested, would not be regarded with harshness or disfavour by the House of Commons.

When I first accepted my present post, I was certainly surprised to learn what a slender household was in future to be assigned to the administrator of so great a dependency. In fact, fifteen years ago, as an under-secretary of state, I became entitled to the same staff as is, I find, accorded to the Governor of a country as large as Europe; but understanding from Lord Lisgar, that these present arrangements were the result of due deliberation, I have no desire to question their wisdom. They certainly do not accord with our European notions of what is necessary to the maintenance of viceregal state, but I am quite prepared to supplement them to the necessary extent, out of my private income.

With respect to the steamer, however, the case is different. The initial expenditure of £3,000 would be a larger payment than it would be desirable for me to make, for the same reasons I have glanced at in my other letter. At the same time I conceive it to be an appendage absolutely necessary to my station.

I have already been assailed in the presence of a great number of people, in a way which must have been rather displeasing to the Canadians present, by the innocent but impertinent importunities of a Yankee journalist, while Lady Dufferin has been forced to overhear some very ungracious remarks from a knot of American ladies, in reference to a cabin which had been reserved for her.

I am quite convinced that if you desire me to maintain that dignity and reserve upon which the prestige of representation so much depends, you must allow me to choose my company when on my travels. Of course I make this observation on the assumption that it is the desire of the Canadian Government to enhance the repute of monarchical institutions, and to accept the consequences they entail. The cynicism of a republican philosophy might affect to ignore such considerations, but with deductions from principles of that nature neither you nor I have any concern. At the same time, I am bound to confess from what I have learnt, both from Lord Lisgar and from Lord Monck, that if there is any respect in which the authorities in this country are out of sympathy with our habits of thought at home, it may be in their failure to appreciate the importance of trifles of this description—a due attention to which has so much to do with the maintenance of that intangible, but not less operative essence called prestige, to whose assistance most human institutions are indebted for their stability.

I am quite sorry to interrupt what appears from the papers to be your triumphant progress through the constituencies, with so lengthy a com-

munication. I trust it will be the last I shall have to address to you on matters of a personal nature, and I turn with infinitely greater pleasure to the privilege of congratulating you on the wonderful skill, eloquence and ability, displayed in the great speech of which you sent me a copy.[1] It was an effort which would have commanded admiration in any assembly, and now that I have become better acquainted with the difficulties with which you had to contend, I am the more able to appreciate the tact, judgment and success, with which you dealt with them.

It is, indeed, a fortunate circumstance that at the crisis of her fate, Canada possesses a statesman of such commanding talent, and it is most lucky for me that my initiation into my new duties should take place under the guidance of a person in whom the country seems so unanimously to confide, and in whose society both Lady Dufferin and myself already feel we shall take such pleasure.

You may rely upon my doing my very best to give you the most loyal assistance and support in your patriotic endeavours to serve this magnificent country, and I only wish I could think that my abilities rendered me more worthy of being associated with you in your honourable endeavours. I was so glad to have a line from Sir George Cartier announcing an improvement in his health.

You will be sorry to hear that Lady Dufferin was confined nearly the whole of last week to her bed and room by a very sharp feverish attack from which however she is now recovering.

I have spent three days on the Marguerite river whipping the pools under the superintendence of Dr. Campbell. I had a salmon on my hook for ten minutes, and have been duly inoculated with the fishing furor, but the sport was unusually bad.

You will be at a little rest at the seaside when your electioneering labours are concluded. Pray let us know when you pass through Quebec.

Believe me, dear Sir John,

Yours ever,

DUFFERIN.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lord Lisgar.

Private. *Ottawa, 2nd September, 1872.*

MY DEAR LORD LISGAR,

I do not know whether any Canadian papers follow you to Baillieborough. If they do, you will have read my excuse for not writing you before.

Lord Dufferin on his arrival proceeded directly to Ottawa and I accompanied him.

Council having come to the conclusion to go to the country at once, without a moment's delay, I proceeded westward,

[1] On the Treaty of Washington, 1871. Delivered in the House of Commons, 3rd May, 1872.

and have been for the last two months "on the stump." I have been travelling and speaking and organizing elections during all that time. Never in the whole of my 27 years of public service have I had such hard and unpleasant work to do. Had I not taken this course, I do not think that a corporal's guard of ministerialists would have been returned in Ontario. As it is, we have fought a drawn battle. Of the 88 constituencies in Ontario, we have carried 42. The other 46 are not however all in the Opposition. There are several independent members, or loose fish, who will support the Government as they learn from the returns that it has a working majority.

I anticipate that when Parliament meets in February next, 50 of the 88 Ontario members will support the Government. I had a hard fight in my own town. I left it in charge of Campbell and went off to the west. Some of the electors were displeased at my neglect, and so I had a stern contest, but had a majority of 130.

Hincks foolishly gave up his old constituency, preferring a western one, and was ingloriously defeated.

In the other provinces we have had marvellous success. Of the 21 Nova Scotia members, 20 are pledged to support the Government, and the other man has since his election announced that he will give us an independent support. Of the New Brunswick sixteen, we have carried fourteen, and the two others also promise that they will not vote want of confidence.

In British Columbia and Manitoba no Oppositionists will be elected, and they number ten members.

In Quebec the elections are not yet finished, but of the 65 constituencies we believe that we shall carry from 42 to 45. You will thus see that we have got as large, nay a larger majority on the whole, than in the last Parliament.

It would have been a great satisfaction to me if I had been able to carry a majority of avowed supporters in Ontario, and as you see, I narrowly missed it.

As is usual in such cases, every possible charge was brought against the Government, but in the western part of Ontario, dissatisfaction with the treaty was my main obstacle.

You may remember that I always told you that the treaty was unpopular there. I know that Sir Hugh Allan and others

who profess to know the western country, gave you a different impression, and that you thought that I had overrated the hostile feeling against it; but I knew Ontario too well to be mistaken.

In addition to this, the local Government used all its power, patronage and influence to defeat us. They forced the great lumber merchants, who depend upon them for licenses of occupation of timber lands, to subscribe large sums, and I have reason to believe that the U. S. Northern Pacific Railway also subscribed largely in order to place Mr. Mackenzie at the head of the Government, as he would have handed over our Pacific Railway to them. This nefarious design has, however, been defeated. We are, I think, fixed in the saddle for the next five years, and shall take good care that the Yankees have nothing to say to our Pacific Railway.

I think H. M. Government owe me something for fighting this battle. Had we been defeated at the polls, and a new Government formed on the ground that the people disapproved of the treaty of Washington, the relations between England and the Colony would have been the reverse of pleasant, and Heaven knows what the political consequences might have been! Happily, the decision of the people of the Dominion, as a whole, is in favour of the treaty, and the annexationists and independents have been completely routed. We may, therefore, look forward to five years of quiet. During that period it may be hoped that Confederation, now in the gristle, will have hardened into bone, and whatever may be our political conflicts, the constitution will have taken such root as to be able to stand the storm.

Cartier was defeated in East Montreal by an overwhelming majority. This was anticipated by us all. We knew that he had lost his hold there, but he would listen to no advice. He had everything against him. The Catholic Bishop of Montreal and Cartier had a personal quarrel, and all the power of the former was exercised against him. From Cartier's professional connection with the Grand Trunk Railway, he was supposed to be adverse to the rival railway running on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, from Montreal to Quebec, and as this railway will have its terminus

in East Montreal, you may fancy the feeling that was roused against him. The British element, which in former years went as one man for him, was dissatisfied, and the volunteers were all against him for some cause or another. In fact he had no chance. The constituency is not Rouge, and any good man of Cartier's own party would have carried it, but he himself was doomed. I would not regret his defeat at all, as he brought it on himself by sheer obstinacy, were it not that I fear it will greatly affect his health. I am sorry to say that he is in a very bad way. His legs are swollen to an enormous extent. It has all the appearance of confirmed dropsy. But still worse, Dr. Grant tells me confidentially that his ailment is what is commonly known as "Bright's disease" which is generally considered as incurable. I do not anticipate that he will live a year, and with all his faults, or rather with all his little eccentricities, he will not leave so good a Frenchman behind him; certainly not one who can fill his place in public life. I cannot tell you how I sorrow at this. We have acted together since 1854, and have never had a serious difference.

I venture to trouble you with all these details, as I am glad to believe that you take an interest in our affairs, and that you will especially like to know that our policy, inaugurated under your auspices and with your sanction, has been successful.

I have been able to see little of the Dufferins since their arrival. He is pleasant in manner, and has been both in speech and by letter very complimentary to myself. He is, however, rather too gushing for my taste. I can stand a good deal of flattery, but he lays it on rather too thick. Lady Dufferin is very charming, with nice, unaffected manners, and much more natural than the *caro sposo*. I think I shall like her much, but in military phrase, I would gladly exchange her for Lady Lisgar, and pay the difference.

Lord Dufferin is laying himself out to be popular, and I have no doubt will succeed, unless he overdoes it. He proposes having residences at Halifax, Quebec and Toronto. It was amusing to see the dismay with which they saw Ottawa and Rideau Hall. It seems that no preparation had been made for their reception, and they had to put up with some considerable amount of discomfort. Added to this,

the weather was hot, and the mosquitoes overpowering in numbers and viciousness. They stayed only three days, and then off they went to Rivière du Loup, where Bernard had secured Reynold's cottage for them. They could not succeed in getting a house in Quebec, so they have taken possession of the Citadel and made it, I am told, tolerably comfortable. It is a pleasant summer residence, as in the hottest day at that elevation, there is always a breeze blowing. I only returned from the West here yesterday, and after putting things to rights and doing up the arrears, I intend to run down to Quebec and await His Excellency's commands. He writes me that he has received a communication from Lord Kimberley on the subject of the proposed honours, on which he desires to consult me.

With respect to myself, I think that the P. C. ship should come to me through Lord Granville. I assume that it is conferred upon me for my services on the Joint High Commission, and if so I can only receive it as a reward for Imperial services, just as in the case of Mountague Bernard. However, more of this anon.

Pray present my kindest regards to Lady Lisgar and tell her that she must not forget us here. My wife accompanied me to the West, and while I was peregrinating, she stayed with the Howlands, where she now is. Mrs. Howland made her wait to assist at a ball she is giving in honour of the English amateur cricketers who have come out to show the Canadians that noble game. If Turville[1] is with you, please remember me to him.

Believe me, My dear Lord Lisgar,
Very faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Cartier, Bart.

Private. *Ottawa, 3rd September, 1872.*

MY DEAR CARTIER,

I am very glad to learn from your telegram of yesterday that you are better. You must not think of looking after your office until you are perfectly restored. With your

[1] Francis Turville (afterwards Sir Francis Turville, K.C.M.G.), secretary to Lord Lisgar when Governor-General of Canada (1868–72).

permission, I will talk over Militia matters with Futvoye in your absence.

As soon as I clear off arrears, I shall run down to Quebec to see the Governor-General and shall call upon you on my way down.

You see that Hincks has been elected for British Columbia. Would you like to have a seat for Manitoba, until you find one in Lower Canada? If so, telegraph me "Yes," and I will send a cypher on to Archibald without delay.

In great haste.

Yours most sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir George Cartier, Bart.,
Montreal.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Rose, Bart.

Private. *Ottawa, 5th September, 1872.*

MY DEAR ROSE,

As you may perhaps remember, we got two votes from Parliament of Secret Service money in consequence of the Fenian Raids. Last session the Opposition, Holton, Young, Mackenzie & Co., made a desperate attempt to have the accounts submitted to them. Hincks, who knew nothing about it, first said there was no objection, but I took strong ground and said that it was utterly impossible—that the fact of its being known that the accounts were shown, would not only raise the greatest apprehension in the minds of those parties who had given us information, and betray their accomplices, but would shut the door against the possibility of our getting any information in the future.

In the late election contest the Grits, with their usual want of truth, circulated the story that we had been using the fund for election purposes. I had some conversation on the subject with Lord Lisgar who had been, as you know, Secretary of the Treasury and knew all about it. He said that no account was ever given of this fund to anyone, and he told me, what I must say rather surprised me, that when Sir Robert Peel's Government went out, they took the balance with them, which was used for the benefit of the Opposition.

In Todd's book on Parliamentary Government it is

alleged that Secret Service money is disbursed by the Secretary of State and a book kept for the information of Parliament if asked for, but that, in fact, it never is asked for. Now, from what Lord Lisgar told me, I fancy there must be two funds, one the fund mentioned by Todd, and the sum at the disposal of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Will you find out all about this and let me know? I want the information to use by the time our Parliament meets. I shall also write Lord Lisgar on the subject, to get his recollection of it more specifically than I have just now.

Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir John Rose, Bart.,
Bartholomew Lane,
London.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Private. *Ottawa, 19th September, 1872.*

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

On my arrival at Montreal last week I found Cartier so exhausted by the number of injudicious friends who were visiting him, that I had not the heart to talk to him at any length on business. I therefore postponed, until his arrival here, any discussion as to the question of honours. As was arranged at Quebec, I mentioned to him the proposition as to Tupper, Tilley and Campbell. I did not speak of himself. I mentioned to him, however, the proposition as to Archibald and Bernard.

After considering the matter in all its aspects, he agreed with me that it would be wise, perhaps, to postpone the appointments *quoad* the three gentlemen first above mentioned for the present. One great reason which occurred to both of us for doing so was that it would grievously wound Mr. Howe, the Secretary of State for the Provinces. He is an old man, in very bad health, and ought to retire into private life. However "still the veteran lags superfluous on the stage," and it would be highly inexpedient to put any pressure on him for the purpose. His life hangs on a single thread, and I would be very unwilling that any act of mine

should snap it. He is the oldest member of the Council and has for more than a quarter of a century filled the chief place in the public eye as a leading man in the Maritime Provinces.

Cartier and I agree that if no other reason existed, it would be well to postpone the honour in question until Howe is disposed of. We also think that any honour to Archibald had better be deferred until the end of his administration, which, I presume, will occur shortly. I found Cartier in good spirits and full of courage, but his medical men almost despair of his recovery. I hope that he will sail next Saturday beyond a doubt, ere the cold weather sets in. Cold and damp are deadly to his disease.

Council will assemble in full strength next Thursday, and the matters interesting personally to yourself, which we discussed when I had the honour of waiting upon you at Quebec, will be disposed of in a manner which I hope will be agreeable to you.

I am strongly tempted to go to Hamilton during Exhibition week, but my long absence has left me so wofully in arrears that I fear I cannot manage it.

By the way, when we talked about the political events at Melbourne, I was not quite sure whether I was correct in stating that the Legislature which Lord Canterbury refused to dissolve, had been summoned under Duffy's administration, or the previous one. I see by an article on the subject in the London *Spectator* of the 10th that I was correct in my impression that the Parliament was not Duffy's. The article in question is worth your perusal.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Yours very faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Governor-General,
Quebec.

From Sir Francis Hincks to Sir John Macdonald.

Monday, 23rd September, 1872.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

As I understand that you contemplate bringing before the Privy Council this week at least one subject of very grave importance, I feel that in justice to my colleagues they ought to be made aware that it is my fixed

determination not to meet Parliament as a Minister of the Crown. Although I made you aware of this determination some months ago, I am not without apprehension that you have still some doubt on the subject, and if so it cannot be too soon removed. I am most anxious to do anything that I possibly can do to support your Government, consistently with carrying out my intention, and I, therefore, felt it my duty to go through the election campaign. I own that I regret my election for Vancouver. Had I had an opportunity of giving an opinion, it would have been against such a proceeding, not on personal grounds, but because it has prevented my resignation following as a matter of course my failure to obtain a seat. It was and continues to be my wish to retire altogether from public life, but I am not sorry on the whole that I shall be enabled by having a seat in the House of Commons to make such explanations and to take such a course as will completely remove any impression that my retirement from the Government is owing to dissatisfaction, either with you as my leader, or with any of my colleagues. I am happy in believing that my successor will have no financial embarrassment, and I need scarcely assure you that if ever any advice of mine were deemed likely to be useful, it would ever be at *his* command, and I feel convinced that I can render your Government quite as much service as an outside supporter as if I were a member of the Government. All that I need add at present is that while I wish that there should be no misunderstanding as to my intentions, I am anxious in every way to make my arrangements conformable to your wishes. I am ready to resign at a moment's notice, or at such other time as may be deemed most beneficial on consultation, and you may rely that you will have no more zealous supporter in or out of the House than

Yours faithfully,

F. Hincks.

The Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

From the Earl of Carnarvon to Sir John Macdonald.

The Coppice, Henley on Thames, 29th September, 1872.

Dear Sir John Macdonald,

I was very glad to see your handwriting again, and to perceive that in point of health you are not the worse for all your recent hard work—a general election included. I fear that Sir G. Cartier is less strong than his friends could desire, but I hope that the rest which he is now allowing himself, may bear good fruit.

I shall watch with great interest the course of your new Parliament, and I need scarcely say the fortunes of my many Canadian friends. Political life, whether in Canada or England, has so many changes and chances, that all who live in it must be prepared for rapid variations of the popular favour, but your long and unbroken success and your command of fortune, have almost put you outside the circle of ordinary statesmen. Here in

England all things are going on steadily enough. The most pressing difficulties lie, I think, in the relations of employers and workmen, and the question of wages, but the country is very rich and prosperous—so prosperous that the £3,000,000 damages which we are to pay, have hardly raised a single grumble of dissatisfaction. It cannot, indeed, be expected that this will last, and when it comes to an end, there will, no doubt, be some trouble, but for the moment, all parties are inclined to let well be, and though our experience of the ballot at Pontefract and Preston is not encouraging to the author of that bad measure, neither party feels very confident of its strength in the event of a general election.

I am, I am glad to say, very much stronger and better for my recent sea life, and in spite of a good deal of private business which through some recent family troubles have been thrown upon me, I endeavour to lead as idle a life as I can.

I am glad you like your new Governor General. Though of contrary politics, he is a very old friend of mine.

Believe me, dear Sir John Macdonald,

Yours very faithfully,

CARNARVON.

The Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Lt Governor J. W. Trutch[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Govt. House, Victoria, B. C., Oct. 14th, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I received your letter of the 25th ult. the day before yesterday on my return home from a visit of inspection to the interior of B. C. where—at Ashcroft—Senator Cornwall's place—I met Mr. Fleming[2] on his arrival from the other side of the Rocky Mountains. As you will of course hear from himself a full account of his trip and of his impressions as to the country, the line of proposed railway and the competing advantages of the rival Fraser River and Bute Inlet routes, I will only say on this subject that he and his party have made the quickest journey of which we have record between Fort Garry and Victoria—and yet appear as fresh and hearty as if they had not travelled one hundred miles.

I am very glad to find that you are pleased at the result of the steps I took to secure Sir Francis's[3] selection for Vancouver Dist. and I trust the latter has written to Mr. Bunster through whose withdrawal his return by acclamation was effected, and that you may think fit to take some notice of Bunster should an opportunity occur. Had I received the news of Sir

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[1] Afterwards Sir Joseph Trutch, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia (1871–1876).

[2] Sandford Fleming, C. E. (afterwards Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G.).

[3] Sir Francis Hincks, on his defeat in Brant in the General Elections of 1872, was elected for Vancouver, Mr. Arthur Bunster withdrawing in his favour and thus permitting his return by acclamation. Mr. Bunster subsequently sat for Vancouver in the House of Commons from 1874 to 1882.

George's defeat for Montreal two days sooner he would have been returned for Yale District, as well as for Provencher, but the nomination for the last remaining election in B. C. had already taken place ere the result of the Montreal election was reported here. I cannot tell you kow deeply all here regret the serious indisposition which withdraws him for a time from public life, and to me specially who have had the privilege of his friendship, his illness, so unexpectedly announced, occasions heartfelt sorrow. I trust he may soon be so restored in health as to be able to resume his duties, for I am sure that to you particularly and to the country at large his loss would be a great calamity.

At the same time with your letter under reply in which you ask me to write you my private opinion as to Dr. Powell's fitness for the situation of Indian Agent in this Province I received your telegram of 2nd inst. acquainting me of his having been appointed to that office, which would have seemed to render superfluous any further allusion to the subject but that it appears to me a matter of such paramount importance to all interests in this country that I think it my duty to convey to you my ideas thereon, and have also taken the opportunity to express the same views more fully to Mr. Fleming who on his arrival at Ottawa will place you in possession thereof, and will also give you the benefit of his own impressions as to the Indians of B. C. and their management. . . . .

Dr. Powell[1] has a very good standing here. He has been in good practice in his profession and is reputed to possess business ability, but he is entirely without any special knowledge of Indian matters, has had no experience in managing Indian affairs, has hardly ever been out of Victoria during his residence in the Province, and cannot therefore know much of or concerning our Indians and is certainly unknown by them. Now whether he is at all fit for the post of Indian Agent in B. C. depends on the scope of duties and the extent of authority to be attached to the office; in fact on the manner in which the Indian Department is to be organized here and the system to be adopted towards the Indians. Dr. Powell might perform the duties of the office well enough if acting under the immediate direction and advice of some one of more experience here, but I should not certainly consider it otherwise than most likely to result in all sorts of complications and dissatisfactions if the management of our Indians were left in his hands altogether.

We have in B. C. a population of Indians numbering from 40,000 to 50,000, by far the larger portion of whom are utter savages living along the coast, frequently committing murder and robbery among themselves, one tribe upon another, and on white people who go amongst them for purposes of trade, and only restrained from more outrageous crime by being always treated with firmness, and by the consistent enforcement of the law amongst them to which end we have often to call in aid the services of H. M. ships on the station. I cannot see how the charge of these Indians can be entrusted to one having no experience among them, nor do I think it

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[1] I. W. Powell, M.D., Indian Superintendent B. C.: proved a good officer, acceptably filling the position for many years.

likely that the assistance of the Navy would be willingly and effectively given to any subordinate officer of the Government. Without further descanting on the matter however, I may tell you that I am of opinion, and that very strongly, that for some time to come at least the general charge and direction of all Indian affairs in B. C. should be vested in the Lt. Governor, if there is no constitutional objection to such arrangement, and that instead of one there should be three Indian Agents, one for Vancouver Island, one for the Northwest Coast and the third for the interior of the mainland of the Province, which latter gentleman might very properly be a Roman Catholic, as the Indians in this section are for the most part under the influence of missionaries of that persuasion. Then as to Indian policy I am fully satisfied that for the present the wisest course would be to continue the system which has prevailed hitherto, only providing increased means for educating the Indians, and generally improving their condition moral and physical. The Canadian system, as I understand it will hardly work here. We have never bought out any Indian claims to lands, nor do they expect we should, but we reserve for their use and benefit from time to time tracts of sufficient extent to fulfil all their reasonable requirements for cultivation or grazing. If you now commence to buy out Indian title to the lands of B. C. you would go back of all that has been done here for 30 years past and would be equitably bound to compensate the tribes who inhabited the districts now settled farmed by white people, equally with those in the more remote and uncultivated portions. Our Indians are sufficiently satisfied and had better be left alone as far as a new system towards them is concerned, only give us the means of educating them by teachers employed directly by Govt. as well as by aiding the efforts of the missionaries now working among them.

To be rid of all concern with our Indian affairs would of course free me of a very considerable part of the trouble and anxiety I have had for the past year, but, however glad I might be at such a release, I have thought it my duty to express to you my conviction that you had better for some time to come continue the general charge of all Indian matters in B. C. in the Lt. Governor, divide the Province into three districts and appoint an Agent in each subject to direction from the Lt. Governor. By such a course you would secure through the Lt. Governor the benefit of the experience of those who during the past 13 or 14 years have managed the Indian affairs of the country, I mean the County Court Judges, who would be likely to feel diminished inclination to become the assistants of any official of a grade below their own.

I believe I have written all I need to on this matter and I fear at such length as to be tedious, but it is one of much importance to this Province, the care of the Indians here being, as I regard it, and have intimated to you in former letters the most delicate and presently momentous responsibility of the Dominion Government within the Province.

Faithfully yours,
JOSEPH W. TRUTCH.

The Rt. Honorable
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Oliver Mowat.[1]

Private. *Ottawa, October 25th, 1872.*

My dear Mowat,

I received by yesterday's mail your letter of resignation which I delivered to the Secretary of State, to whom, more properly, it ought to have been addressed. He has, I suppose, acknowledged its receipt and stated that he would submit it to His Excellency the Governor-General. This is a necessary form, though as a matter of course His Excellency will accept the resignation.

My feelings on learning of your return to political life are of a composite character. I am glad for the sake of Ontario that you have assumed your present position. With all your political sins, you will impart a respectability to the local Government which it much wanted, and the country will have confidence that you will set your face against the coarser forms of jobbery which were infecting our country from our proximity to the United States.

At the same time, I may venture to say that I regret to see you initiating the American system of judges returning to political life, after having accepted the legal monkhood of the Bench. It is not likely to be extensively followed; the precedent is a bad one, but practically it will not do much mischief. However, you have made the plunge, and there is an end of it.

I hope that the relations between the Dominion Government and that of Ontario will be pleasant. There is no reason why they should not be so. Blake announced, on taking office, that he was going to pursue that course; but I fear that he allowed his double position under the dual system, to affect his mind prejudicially. I have never had any difficulty of any kind with the Government of Nova Scotia, although every member of it is politically opposed to the Government here. We all profess to have, and I have no doubt sincerely have, the same object in view, the good of the country. We must, therefore, try to work

[1] On the 24th October, 1872, Mr. Mowat resigned the office of Vice Chancellor of Ontario and re-entered political life, becoming Premier and Attorney General of Ontario, in succession to the Hon. Edward Blake.

the new machine with the construction of which we had so much to do, with as little friction as possible.

I shall have a good deal of bother about the selection of your successor on the Bench, but I must do the best I can.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Oliver Mowat,
Toronto.

From the Hon. Oliver Mowat to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Toronto, 29th October, 1872.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I received your letter of the 25th. Thanks for the friendly words you use in it in regard to myself.

I had not a great deal of time to deliberate on the proposal that if called on by His Excellency to leave the Bench and assume the Government, I should not decline the call, but, in considering it, I confess I was not able to attach much weight to any objection arising from my being a judge, as I could find nothing in law or in British constitutional practice, against the judge of any court leaving it to accept the position of an adviser of the Crown. The idea of thereby initiating in Canada the state of matters which exists in the United States, seems to me fanciful. The evil there arises from the greatly inferior salaries and the short tenure of office of the judges; and these particulars in regard to the Canadian Bench must become much worse than they are, before any danger arises of the kind suggested.

I heartily concur in the hope which you express, that the relations between the Dominion and Ontario Governments may be pleasant. I have ever felt greatly interested in the success of Confederation, and I agree with you that its success will be aided by proper relations being maintained between the Dominion and Local Governments as such, even when these are not in the hands of the same political party. I shall do my best to carry out in this respect the principle which, you remind me, was announced by Mr. Blake on the formation of his Government last year, and I will also be very glad indeed to find it practicable to maintain agreeable relations with all my old friends, whatever from time to time our respective political connections may happen to be.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

O. MOWAT.

The Right Hon.
Sir John A. Macdonald,
Ottawa

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Rideau Hall, Ottawa, November 1, 1872.*

My dear Sir John,

I think you may perhaps like to have the enclosed extract from Lord Kimberley's letter which I copy for you.

"Lord Granville desires me to request you to inform Sir John Macdonald, that the Queen has at his instance consented that Sir John Macdonald shall be sworn in as a Privy Councillor, but it is found that this can only be done at a Council held by Her Majesty herself. Will you, therefore, ascertain what Sir John Macdonald's views are as to coming over here to take the oath and his seat at the Council."

Yours sincerely,

The Right Hon. Dufferin.
Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Rideau Hall, Ottawa, November 5, 1872.

My dear Sir John,

As I am to have the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow, I would ask you to consider a little what habit it would be advisable for me to adopt as regards attending Council.

I shall be in to-morrow about twelve and at your service at any time between that hour and two.

Yours sincerely,
Dufferin.

The Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Sir John Rose, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Bartholomew Lane, E. C.,
16th November, 1872.

Dear Macdonald,

I send you a very meagre report of a dinner given last night, where you will see everybody spoke out on the subject of the Colonial connection. I have *never seen such enthusiasm* as the toast 'the integrity of the Empire' produced. The cheering lasted ten minutes, and there were between 400 and 500 of as influential city men as you could find in London. I am

satisfied that the whisper of disintegration would be a deathblow to any party or man inclined to it.

I saw Cartier yesterday looking, I think, better.

Always yours,

JOHN ROSE.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *20th November, 1872.*

DEAR SIR JOHN,

Thornton has forwarded to me a most insolent despatch from Mr. Fish. In my short experience of European diplomacy, I have been quite unaccustomed to such language. Is that the usual kind of despatch to which Canada is treated by those fellows?

Yours ever,

DUFFERIN.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Alexander Morris.

Confidential. *Ottawa, November 29th, 1872.*

DEAR MORRIS,

I am always glad to hear from you, though I do not always find time to reply. Do not cease to write.

Your Commission as Lieutenant-Governor[1] will be sent up without any delay. If other Government salaries are assured, yours can be so too, as a matter of course.

As to employment at the end of your term, there is no use talking. Five years hence, God knows where we may all be. We will not fill up the chief justiceship just now. The two *puisnes* can do all the work, and there is no necessity for filling the vacancy just now. The account of the row in your Cabinet is very amusing.

Aikins has just passed Council the allotment matter, and I fancy your work with the halfbreeds will be easy enough. Riel seems resolved to give trouble. He will get himself shot some day. You are quite right to do everything legitimate to keep him out of the legislature for the credit

[1] Of Manitoba.

of your Province. If he is elected, it will—now the elections are over—do no great harm.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. A. Morris.

From the Hon. Joseph Howe to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, December 6th, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

After a night of anxious consideration of the scheme of railway policy, developed by Sir Hugh Allan and his friends yesterday, and apparently acquiesced in by my colleagues, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot defend that scheme, or be a party to arrangements which, I believe, will be a surprise to Parliament and the country, and fraught with consequences deeply injurious to the best interests of the Dominion.

I shall, as rapidly as possible, put upon paper the views I entertain of the measure, as presented, and of the policy that ought to be pursued, and hope to be able to place them in your hands in the course of the afternoon.

I regret sincerely the separation from old friends which this divergence of opinions must necessarily involve, but I apprehend that it cannot be avoided, and am quite prepared to make the sacrifice rather than throw over for the sake of office, my conscientious convictions.

Believe me,
My dear Sir John,
Yours sincerely,
JOSEPH HOWE.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private and confidential. *Ottawa, December, 1872.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I return you the volumes containing the debates on the Governor's salary which you were kind enough to send me, and which are sufficiently explicit. On the other hand, I feel that it will be necessary for me at once to face the question of my future expenditure. Since arriving in Canada, I have spent over £11,000, in other words £5,000 more than my official salary. It is true this includes several very heavy and exceptional items such as freight, purchase of horses, transport of carriages and servants from England, which would not recur in the current expenses of future years. But now that we are settled down at Ottawa, I have been able to ascertain pretty accurately what my regular outgoings are likely to amount to, and

the estimate proves very far from satisfactory, as you will see by the subjoined table:

	Per Month	
Ordinary household expenses	£200	
Wages and livery	130	
Stables	60	
Firing and light	130	
Wine	10	
Washing	30	
Private Secretary	30	
Sundry	10	
	600—	7,200 p. a.
Charities and subscriptions		1,000
Travelling		1,000
Sinking fund to recoup a portion of the excess of expenditure which has already taken place		800
Balls, parties, state dinners and occasional entertainments		3,000
Personal expenses		0,000
		13,000

It is to be observed the foregoing calculation is, in respect of what in England would be considered a modest establishment for a peer or ordinary country gentleman, and that neither in the number of my servants, nor in my kitchen, am I at all extravagantly provided. In the *household expenses* there are not included any entertainments beyond the ordinary dinners at which I have had the pleasure of receiving my Ottawa friends. To these, of course, there must be added a certain number of balls, parties, and other occasional hospitalities, which I should both desire and be expected to dispense. I find that the expense of a ball, including wine, can scarcely be kept under a pound a head. At Toronto our ball cost only £500, but on that occasion the Provincial Government contributed both the decorations and the lighting, so that only three balls a year would require the best part of £2,000.

The item for travelling expenses is calculated on the exact average to which they have come during the last five months, and if I am to visit New Brunswick and Nova Scotia next year, I can hardly expect it to be less, unless our steamer may make a difference. I hardly know as yet what my charities and subscriptions will amount to, but Lord Lisgar expended £1,000 per annum under that head, and mine would probably not be less.

On comparing these estimates with my official salary, there results a discrepancy of a very startling and disagreeable character; indeed it is only too plain that if I am to keep out of gaol, I must at once change my programme and make my *rôle* as Governor General very different from what I had desired and intended it should have been, assimilating it more closely to the economical and sedentary tenor of existence adopted by my predecessors. This will be very distasteful to me, and quite contrary to my

convictions as to the procedure which it is desirable the Governor General should adopt, but unless your ingenuity can discover a remedy, I do not see what else can be done. I am quite certain that the estimate I have drawn up is an economical one. At first, my secretary being in England, and we ourselves being new to the country, and too busy and hurried in our movements to attend to our weekly bills, a good deal of cheating and overcharging may have taken place, but since Mr. Pattisson's return, there has been applied to my domestic concerns the same care and vigilance which I have been accustomed to use at home, and what we have done lately could not have been done cheaper.

I had been told that everything was much less dear in Canada, but this is certainly not the case, or at all events the enhanced price of some things more than counterbalances the cheapness of others. Be that as it may, I do not think that I can manage to get on, according to my present way of life, under £13,000. If the excess of my expenditure over my official income was merely a matter of £500 or £1,000 I should not regard it, or trouble you with my difficulties, but the prospective deficit is too serious to overlook. If I could throw upon the Government the expenses of lighting and heating my official residences, and so much of my travelling expenses as were incurred in my official visits to the distant Provinces, the relief would be very sensible; but Parliament, if we are to judge from the debates you have referred to, may not smile on such contingent disbursements. On the other hand, as the Dominion Government acquires the consciousness of its growing dignity and importance, public opinion may develop a greater liberality of sentiment in all these matters.

I see the United States are about to increase the income and appointments of their President, and the shrieks of our own Civil Service are calling attention to the rapid rise in prices. All this may perhaps help, but at all events, I have thought it better to acquaint you with the present state of the case in order that on an early occasion we may take counsel together and determine on what footing it will be best to put my establishment in future.

Believe me, My dear Sir John,
Yours sincerely,
DUFFERIN.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From the Hon. Joseph W. Trutch to Sir John Macdonald.

Victoria, B. C., December 11th, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have felt so chagrined and humiliated at the result of the San Juan arbitration that I would fain never mention the subject again, but munch my share of humble pie silently. Yet as the award,[1] though specific

[1] The award complained of is that of the Emperor of Germany on the 21st October, 1872, giving the Island of San Juan to the United States. Mr. Trutch's apprehensions as regards the course to be taken by the line from the middle of the Straits of Georgia, southerly to the canal de Haro, were not destined to be realized.

enough as between Haro Canal and Rosario Straits, does not define the line of water boundary in other respects from the 49th parallel to the Straits of Fuca, I think it advisable to ask your attention to the matter at once.

British Columbia has lost so much in losing San Juan and the adjacent islands, that it is perhaps of minor consequence whether a few more islands are taken from us or not, but at all events we had better know the worst of the position as soon as practicable.

Looking at the map herewith, you see I have drawn two full lines from the point on the 49th parallel in the middle of the Channel which separates the Continent from Vancouver Island, that is in the middle of the Strait of Georgia, southerly to the Canal de Haro, or Haro Straits, as named on the map. One of these lines follows the channel used by sailing ships to the east of Saturna Island and to the north of Stewart Island, and this I have always supposed was the boundary claimed by the United States Government. The other line follows the course usually taken by steamers through Active Pass to the westward of Mayne and Pender Islands, and this, I am told, is now to be claimed by that Government as the line of the treaty of 1846.

Until within the last few days I had never heard that the United States Government made any pretensions to this latter line as the boundary intended by the treaty, and certainly from the arguments in their case presented before the Emperor, one could not suppose they would make such a claim, especially as we have been exercising jurisdiction and sovereignty over the Islands included between the two lines, without question from them; in fact the joint occupation has never extended to these Islands, so far as I can ascertain.

I hardly comprehend therefore on what pretence the claim can now be made that the water boundary should run through Active Pass, but as a rumour exists of such a claim being about to be advanced by the United States when a Commission is appointed to define the boundary upon the Emperor's Award, and has been reported to me confidentially by Captain Delacombe lately, the Commandant of the British Post on San Juan, I think it right to communicate it to you. In any case, whether such further claim is to be made or not, it is evidently most desirable that the boundary between us and our neighbours should as soon as possible be exactly defined.

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH W. TRUTCH.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Oliver Mowat.

Private. *Ottawa, December 23rd, 1872.*

MY DEAR MOWAT,

I duly received yours of the 17th which pressure of business has prevented me from replying to before.

You are under a misapprehension in supposing that an opinion was obtained from the Privy Council in England with respect to Queen's Counsel. No such opinion was asked for. The circumstances were simply these: The question of appointment of Queen's Counsel was raised in Nova Scotia more than a year ago, in fact it was made a matter of complaint against the Dominion Government that silk gowns had not been conferred there. As I was aware that the point had been raised, as to the power of appointment, by Sandfield Macdonald, I thought it well not to act, even in a matter of prerogative, without reference to Her Majesty's Government. I accordingly made a report as Attorney General to the Governor-General.

You know that by practice, all reports and opinions of the Law officers of the Crown are confidential, and seldom, if ever, laid before Parliament. I therefore send you a copy of my report confidentially. It cannot be used at this moment, but I have no objection that it should be moved for in the Dominion Parliament, and I shall ask His Excellency's permission to bring it down there, *pro bono publico*.

The answering despatch from Lord Kimberley can only be brought down in the same way. It does not set out the opinion of the Law officers of the Crown in England *ipsissima verba;* it states generally that he has taken the opinion and that he is advised that the Governor-General has the power, and that a Lieutenant-Governor appointed since the passing of "The British North America Act 1867" has not the power of appointing Queen's Counsel; but that a legislature of a Province can confer by statute such power on its Lieutenant-Governor, including such precedence or preaudience in the courts of the Province, as the legislature may think fit.

I see no difficulty in a Provincial Legislature passing an Act of the kind referred to. It would be well, I think, that due respect should be paid to the Governor-General's Commission in the Provincial courts, and I have no doubt that similar respect will be accorded to any Q. C.'s appointed under Statute of a Local Legislature, in the courts of the Dominion.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

The Hon. Oliver Mowat.

From the Hon. S. L. Tilley to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Ottawa, December 24, 1872.*

My dear Sir John,

Judging from Haythorne's[1] letter to Lieutenant-Governor Robinson, I doubt if the Island people are yet ripe for Confederation. They require to feel the presence of ——* taxation before they are convinced. It may be that Haythorne, who is a shrewd fellow, is asking more than they are prepared to accept, but if they suppose that the Dominion will pay their railway debt in addition to the $800,000 for land, and the annual subsidy offered them in 1869, they will find themselves mistaken. I had a letter from Palmer a few days since. He does not take quite such high ground, and thinks Sir John Rose might be appointed arbitrator between the two Governments. This is Palmer, the President of the Bank, and brother to Attorney General Palmer. I suspect we shall have a delegation here before long from the Island upon this subject.

Yours sincerely,

S. L. Tilley.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private and confidential. *Montreal, January 15th, 1873.*

My dear Sir John,

Lord Kimberley has so much personal regard for you, and confides so thoroughly both in your judgment and good faith, that I have no scruple in communicating to you in its entirety, the enclosed letter which I have just received. After you have read it please hand it to Colonel Fletcher.[2]

Lord Kimberley has a good opinion of Mr. Mitchell's abilities, but I remember when he handed me the Fishery Blue Book to read, he alluded to Mitchell's despatches as containing over much bounce and bluster. I am not sure, however, but that in diplomatizing with the Yanks, these qualities may prove useful, if only they are duly moderated by your superintending hand.

Fletcher will have handed to you the confidential letter written to me by the Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island. You will see what Lord Kimberley says in reference to this subject and to Newfoundland. It would be very pleasant if the incorporation of the remaining two

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1 At the time, Premier of Prince Edward Island. Afterwards a Senator of Canada. Died, 7th May, 1891.

—* Word indecipherable.

2 Colonel H. C. Fletcher, C.M.G., Governor General's Secretary (1872-1875). The Mitchell referred to by Lord Kimberley was the Hon. Peter Mitchell, then Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Provinces of British North America with the Dominion could be concluded while both you and I were in office. To have successfully organized the Pacific Railway and rounded off the Dominion, will, with what you already have done towards its creation and establishment, complete a record of successful statesmanship more remarkable and glorious than any future Prime Minister of Canada will be likely to leave behind him.

I have to thank you for the Minute which I have signed to-day for the reorganization of my office. It is now very complete and well constituted.

I am sorry to give you so much trouble and cause so much expense, but a great country inevitably outgrows its breeches.

Yours sincerely,

DUFFERIN.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Edward Thornton.

Ottawa, January 18th, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR EDWARD,

I have your note respecting the treaty. The matter relating to the tolls on our canals stands thus:—

In 1860, by Order-in-Council, vessels and cargoes, without distinction as to nationality, were allowed to pass the St. Lawrence canals, the Rideau and Ottawa canals, and the Burlington Bay canal, free of tolls.

With reference to the Welland canal, the full rate of tolls was collected, but of the tolls so paid, 90 per cent was refunded whenever such vessels or goods entered the St. Lawrence canals, or entered their cargoes inwards at any Canadian port on Lake Ontario, or on the St. Lawrence. This Order-in-Council was rescinded in 1863.

The tolls are now regulated as follows:—

No discriminating tolls between Canadian and foreign vessels are charged on our canals; but for statistical purposes, the nationalities of ships are stated in the manifests presented at the canal office. The tonnage of all ships is charged with tolls, in proportion to the number of sections of canal they pass through. Special rates have been authorized for the following articles of freight:—wheat, flour, corn, barley, oats and petroleum, having paid Welland canal tolls, may pass through the other canals free of further charge. Iron and salt, having paid St. Lawrence tolls, may pass upwards through the Welland canal free of charge. Coal

passes upwards, free of tolls through all the canals, except the Welland canal. Iron ore, and chemical ores, are charged with a uniform rate of five cents per ton, whether they pass through one section or all the sections of one or all the canals.

I shall be obliged to you for keeping me informed at your leisure, of the progress of the Fishery Bill in Congress.

Believe me,
My dear Sir Edward
Yours very truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Rt. Hon.
Sir Edward Thornton, K.C.B.,
Washington.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Cartier, Bart.

Private. *Ottawa, January 22nd, 1873.*

MY DEAR CARTIER,

I am glad to learn from your letters that you are steadily improving. Do not hurry too much about coming out. We have not yet settled the exact day on which Parliament will meet, but we surmise it will be about the 1st March.

Morris has been in rather a quandary in Manitoba. A party of French halfbreeds waited upon him without notice, evidently sent by the Archbishop.[1] They asked an amnesty for all, and claimed that there had been a promise to that effect from the Government. Morris replied (and he could make no other answer) that he was not aware of any promise. This, I understand, annoyed the Archbishop, and he has been talking foolishly about publishing correspondence and so on. He wrote to Masson of Terrebonne on the subject, and Masson wrote Langevin who showed me the letter; and I wrote in reply to Langevin who has sent my letter to Masson. I stated that if there were any promises in writing we should be glad to have copies of them, but that I understood the promises alluded to were those made by the Governor-General and Sir Clinton Murdoch. I stated that no minister of the Crown was present at the

[1] Bishop Taché who had recently been created Archbishop.

interview spoken of, but that Lord Lisgar and Sir Clinton Murdoch, who were both alive, and were men of honour, would state frankly what they promised; and that I had no doubt that whatever they had undertaken would be carried out faithfully by the Imperial Government.

The only letter that I wrote was one to Bishop Taché himself on the 10th January, 1870, when he arrived here on his return from Rome. In that letter I informed him that the amnesty promised by the proclamation sent up by Father Thibault would be carried out; and further, that the Government would stand between the insurgents and the Hudson's Bay Company, if they laid down their arms, for any provisions that they might have consumed at Fort Garry. This was before the death of Scott, who was killed on the 4th March.

Since I wrote to Langevin, Archibald has called my attention to a copy of a correspondence between yourself and Father Ritchot of the 18th and 19th May, 1870, after my attack of illness, which took place on the 6th. I send you extracts of the letter from Ritchot to you, and your reply. These copies have been given by Ritchot to Archibald, and I suppose are correct.

I see that you were very guarded and referred entirely in your answer to the conversation which Lord Lisgar had with Ritchot on the 19th May, when you were present.

Now I think it would be well, lest the Archbishop should publish these extracts, that you should write me in full what the conversation was between Lord Lisgar and the delegates; and I think that you should write to Lord Lisgar and get his assent to the correctness of your statement, so that I may be in a position to state in my place in Parliament what Lord Lisgar absolutely did promise.

I know perfectly well that he made no promise, direct, or indirect, by which the pardon of Riel, or those concerned in the murder of Scott, can be claimed. I have meanwhile taken a step which will, I think, close the Archbishop's mouth. The fact that he interests himself at this moment in Riel's success, after his (Riel's) conduct towards him and towards us—such as in his election to the Local Legislature and so on—shows that his return to Manitoba is with the Archbishop's consent and connivance.

Langevin thinks this will have the desired effect with His Grace.

I hope that we shall have the Pacific Railway charter signed by the 26th of this month, and then we will have plain sailing for Parliament.

Believe me,
My dear Cartier,
Yours very sincerely
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir George Cartier, Bart.,
47 Welbeck Street.
Cavendish Square,
London.

From Sir George Cartier, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *London, 23rd January, 1873.*

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 4th instant, which reached me three days ago. I feel well pleased about the progress you have made with the Pacific Railway matter. I entirely concur in your scheme. It would not have done to have given the contract to Allan's company, since it could not have been united with McPherson's one. In forming a new company and in excluding members of Parliament, you have done the right thing. Neither McPherson nor any Ontario man, can find a ground of real complaint with regard to the company to be organized under an Order of the Privy Council.

I am again happy to tell you that I continue to improve in my state of health. I have not as yet concluded giving my evidence against the St. Alban's raiders, and the other——* of the Northern refugees. I hope to finish it at the end of next week. I called two days ago at the Colonial Office to arrange my interview with Lord Kimberley on the subject you mention in your note, of delaying the convening of our Parliament. I am to get that interview at 4 P. M. to-day. I won't have time to give you the result of it by this mail, but I will write it to you day after to-morrow (Saturday). If I can induce Lord Kimberley to write the private note you wish to be written to Lord Dufferin, I will ask him at once to telegraph to Lord Dufferin. Bear in mind that we must not embarrass Lord Kimberley with regard to the transference of the guarantee by any reduction of the Militia estimates, or the sale of any property used or to be

*Word indecipherable.

used for fortifications according to Jervois' plan. Tell Langevin to intimate to Robertson to avoid making any suggestion on these subjects in his general report. The Militia reports are much read here, and if it were to appear by this year's report that our Government intends to reduce the Militia estimates and to sell the fortification property, it would embarrass Kimberley in passing his bill, for he must assure Parliament here that the Canadian Government, by seeking the fortification guarantee transference and the postponing of the making of the fortifications, does not intend to give up the contemplated scheme of fortifications, and that when the time comes to make these fortifications, Canada will be ready to realize its promise of making them. In support of his argument he will quote, no doubt, our readiness to spend the necessary money for the proper organization of our Militia, even beyond the amount we have promised to spend, and also our policy up to this time in not having dispensed by sale of any of the properties to be used as fortifications under Jervois' plan.

Lady Cartier and the girls are all in Paris. My kindest remembrances to Lady Macdonald and our colleagues, and, my dear Macdonald, believe me as always.

Your devoted colleague,
GEORGE ET. CARTIER

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Private. *Ottawa, January 27th, 1873.*

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

I enclose you a letter from the Hon. J. C. Chapais, the Receiver General, tendering his resignation. Mr. Chapais is a most estimable man, but of rather too retiring a nature to take the position in public life which his abilities would otherwise entitle him to.

As the Speakership of the Senate was vacant by Mr. Cauchon resigning his senatorship, I thought it due to Mr. Chapais to ask him if he would allow me to submit his name to Your Excellency as his successor. He has however preferred to retire from official life altogether, retaining his seat in the Senate. His conduct in this whole matter has been in the highest degree disinterested, and I hope that the time may come when we may be able to show our appreciation of his course. I shall probably submit the name of Dr.

Robitaille,[1] the member for the County of Bonaventure to Your Excellency as his successor.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Earl of Dufferin.

From Sir Francis Hincks to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal, 10th February, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

The Pacific Railway scheme having now been fairly launched, there is no longer any reason for my deferring my long contemplated retirement from active political life, and I have therefore to request that you will place my resignation in the hands of His Excellency the Governor General, with an expression of my profound respect, and of my ardent wish that His Excellency's administration so auspiciously commenced, may continue as successful to its close. It is almost superfluous for me to assure you that I part with you with feelings of deep regret. If I had the least hesitation in becoming a member of your Government, a very short experience convinced me that I had not been mistaken in taking that course, which in my judgment public duty imperatively required me to take. But, as you have long been aware, my re-entrance into active political life was always viewed with alarm by those whose opinions I am bound to consult, and who believe that I could not continue in it except at the sacrifice of my health. You and I can afford to treat with contempt the gossip of newspaper correspondents, but this is a suitable occasion for me to state that during the term of our political connection, you have invariably treated me with the greatest consideration and confidence, and that I continue to believe that the integrity of our great Dominion depends much on the success of your administration. For each and all of my colleagues, including those who have retired since my own acceptance of office, I have entertained feelings both of friendship and esteem. It is truly painful to have to sever such ties as have existed between us, but I trust that I may be able during the few years that I can hope to live, to preserve friendships which I so highly value.

Believe me,
Very truly yours,
F. HINCKS.

Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

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[1] The Hon. Théodore Robitaille, Receiver General of Canada, January to November, 1873; Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec (1879–1884); a Senator of Canada (1885–1897). Died, 18th August, 1897.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private and confidential. *Ottawa, 11th February, 1873.*

My dear Sir John,

Sometime ago I said that I would send you a review I wrote on a plan propounded by Mr. Mill for the pacification of Ireland. You will find it on page 1 of the accompanying volume. It may amuse you to run through it. I have also marked for you my speech on the Irish Land Bill. You can return me the volume at your leisure.

I have signed the Minute accepting Judge Caron's[1] resignation, but I hope you will forgive me for suggesting that before any move is made in the direction of so important an appointment as that of a Lieutenant-Governor, the minister's proposals should be first communicated to the Governor-General.

Every paper in the Dominion has authoritatively announced Judge Caron's impending appointment, and I conclude their information is correct, yet at this moment, I have no knowledge of how the matter may stand.

In administering a constitutional Government, it is my duty to maintain the prerogatives of the Crown as well as the privileges of Parliament, and it would not be proper for me to allow any of the conventional usages in which the former are embodied, to fall into desuetude. Although in England a person is often sounded as to whether he would accept an appointment, it is always under the seal of secrecy until his name has been submitted to the Queen. Did the Governor-General see occasion to deprecate a particular appointment, the premature publication of the Minister's intentions would put everyone concerned into a false position.

There is another point connected with this subject I would wish to submit to you. Now that new Lieutenant-Governors are about to be appointed in every Province, would it not be well to get rid of the irregular practice of giving them the title of "Excellency?" It seems to me that the true policy of the Dominion will be to subordinate the prestige and jurisdiction, both of the local legislature and their chief executive officer to the supreme authority of the Canadian Parliament and the Governor General. Their proper legal title is that of "Their Honours" which might very well content them. The Lieutenant Governors of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay have no higher.

It is also worthy of consideration whether ex-members of the Provincial Councils, and ex-provincial ministers, should retain the designation of

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[1] The Hon. René Edouard Caron, a *puisne* judge of the Court of Queen's Bench for the Province of Quebec, who on the 11th February, 1873, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec. He was the father of the late Sir Adolphe Caron, of the late Madame Jean Thomas Taschereau of Quebec, and of Lady Fitzpatrick, wife of the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec.

"Honourable" after their retirement from office. In a country situated like Canada there are especial reasons for regulating the distribution of these honorary distinctions with care and precision. If they are restricted to persons of merit, whose career in the public service and the official position they have attained, are proofs of eminence, they may become convenient instruments of Government, but if they fall a prey to insignificant local politicans, they are worse than useless.

There is yet another point upon which I have to trouble you. I am not quite satisfied with my position in regard to the Privy Council. You have now seen enough of me to feel convinced that I have not the slightest desire to fidget with the administration of the country, or to interfere in any way with the free action and official responsibility of my ministers; in fact all my instincts are intensely constitutional, and my great desire is to enhance the prestige and authority of Canadian statesmen, and to teach the Canadian people to believe in and to be proud of their public men; consequently, I am rather inclined to favour than otherwise the tendency which is taking place, of the Governor-General's Council to transmute itself into the Prime Minister's Cabinet, at whose deliberations it would be often inconvenient for the head of the Executive to be present. But, on the other hand, I do not think it would be desirable that the Governor-General should allow his right of presiding over his Council to lapse altogether into desuetude. At all events the subject is sufficiently important for me to desire to have the matter thoroughly faced and considered, and if at your leisure you could favour me with a memorandum as to the practice you would recommend, I should esteem it a favour.

I have read with great pleasure the very dignified and explicit draft Minute of Council on Mr. Fish's despatch in relation to the Bratton[1] case. I have not signed it, as it appears in draft form only, but I do not think it could be improved. I imagine the best course would be to send it home officially to Lord Kimberley for transmission to the Foreign Office, in order that it may reach Thornton's hands through them, with Lord Granville's instructions. At the same time, I might send privately a copy to Thornton for his information.

What a sensible and liberal speech Governor Bross[2] seems to have made at Desmoines, except so far as it relates to his project for a canal connecting the Georgian Bay with Lake Ontario, which of course involves an engineering question about which I know nothing. I saw Mr. Capreol and his maps when I was in Toronto, but Mr. Gzowski did not favour his notions,

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[1] Touching the claim of the Canadian Government against the Government of the United States on behalf of one Rufus Bratton, arising out of his abduction from Canadian territory.

[2] William Bross, Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Illinois (1865–1869). The occasion of the speech referred to was an Industrial Convention held at Des Moines for the discussion of matters relating generally to transportation and the improvement of the St. Lawrence route. Mr. F. C. Capreol was a Canadian engineer associated with a scheme known as the Huron and Ontario Ship Canal, for connecting the Georgian Bay with Lake Ontario. For Mr. Gzowski, see note p. 139.

though he suggested an alternative cut between Lake Huron and the Ottawa.

Yours sincerely,
DUFFERIN.

P. S. Now that we have a telegraph at Rideau Hall I would ask you to announce to your colleagues that if any of them ever desire to see me on business between the hours of ten and three, they have only to intimate their wish by telegraph, and they will find me at their service in my office within a quarter of an hour after they have sent their summons, and you will please to add that I trust they will not have any hesitation in asking to see me, as it will be always a pleasure to me to come. By this means, I shall be saved the trouble of going into Ottawa when there is nothing on hand to require my presence.
D.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Rose.

Private. *Ottawa, February 13th, 1873.*

My dear Rose,

Thanks for yours of the 22nd. We have cut off all connection with the *Canadian News* and granted no subsidy of any kind. Could not some action be taken by your Colonial Association to mark its disapprobation of the course of this newspaper.

This mail will take you a copy of the Canadian Pacific Railway Charter granted to Sir Hugh Allan and his associates. He proceeds to England on the 1st March, and I sincerely hope that he may be able to put the scheme successfully in the market. I am satisfied that it deserves success.

Allan is accompanied by Abbott and John Walker of London. The latter is the Vice President of the scheme and a shrewd man of business. *Entre nous*, Allan seems to have lost his head altogether. He has made a series of most stupendous blunders with respect to the whole matter, and the Company is not yet out of the troubles caused by his imprudence. He is the worst negotiator I ever saw in my life. He is however accompanied by John Abbott who will endeavour to keep him right.

You can talk to Walker and Archibald confidentially. I fear that Allan's intense selfishness may blind him as to the true interests of the scheme; that is to say, I fear he will be inclined to think more about how much he can make out of

the thing, than the success of the enterprise itself. I fear too that he will be attempting to fasten his North Shore Railway and the Northern Colonization scheme upon the Pacific, and if he does he will of necessity arouse the opposition of all those interested in the Grand Trunk Railway.

Hincks is now at Montreal. He is about to withdraw from the Government, which I greatly regret. No inducement could make him remain until the end of the Session. Though he does not admit it, I fancy the real cause of his reluctance is that he dislikes the idea of being taunted by the Opposition with being unable to get a seat in Ontario and sitting as a Minister for such an out of the way place as Vancouver Island. Tilley will be sworn in to take his place, and a re-arrangement of the Departments will be thereby occasioned. All the Departments will be filled up, leaving Ontario one Minister short, and the presidency of the Council vacant. I do not intend to fill the vacancy until the end of the session when most likely our friend T. N. Gibbs will come in. The personnel of the Pacific Railway Board has been considered satisfactory by the country; and the Globe does not criticize its composition. In fact it has been so well selected that it meets with general acceptance.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir John Rose, Bart.,
Bartholomew Lane,
Bank, London.

From Sir George Cartier, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

London, 47 Welbeck Street,
Cavendish Square, W.,
15th February, 1873.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

Thanks for your last of the 27th January. Congratulate for me our new colleague Robitaille on his valuable accession to us. I presume and hope that the parting with Chapais was friendly and amiable. I have just had a long visit from Lord Lisgar. He is to write me a letter about what happened at the interview given to Father Ritchot, which I will send you by next mail accompanied with a statement of mine. No promise was made of an amnesty. Always bear in mind *that throughout, we stated*

that the amnesty was not a question for us, but for the Queen at ——* I went to see Lord Carnarvon yesterday to thank him for what he had done privately for us, but he was out. I saw Lady Carnarvon who is to write me when I shall be able to see Lord C. I am happy to tell you I continue progressing. Lord Lisgar asked me to tell you to have the kindness to excuse him for not having as yet replied to your last letter. He has been so unwell for the last 8 weeks. Lady Lisgar is in Ireland. I saw Galt two days ago. He found me much improved. So I see by the last Canadian papers I was reported dead! Who can be guilty of such brutal false report? Remember me kindly to our colleagues. Lady C. and our girls join with me in kind regards to you and Lady Macdonald, and my dear Macdonald, believe me, as always,

Your devoted colleague,
GEO. ET. CARTIER.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Ottawa, February 17th, 1873.

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

I have informed Mr. Howe who, as Secretary of State for the Provinces, has charge of the correspondence with the Lieutenant-Governors, that it is your pleasure that such Lieutenant-Governors should, in all official documents, be addressed by the designation given them by Her Majesty. I have mentioned it in Council also, so that Minutes in Council and State papers generally may give Lieutenant-Governors their proper titles.

With regard to Provincial Legislative Councillors, I would suggest that no notice be taken of the title of "Honourable" being assumed by them for the present, unless the subject is forced on your attention. The Legislative Councillors in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland all enjoy that title and would not like to lose it. The fear of taking a step downwards might disincline them to vote for Confederation. After Union, Her Majesty might be moved to do as was done in 1867, when she ordered that all Legislative Councillors before the date of Confederation should retain their titles for life—those appointed afterwards not to enjoy the title at all. I think the order of the Queen in this matter is quite right, as it would prevent the vulgarizing of the title of "Honourable" by preventing it from be-

*Word indecipherable.

ing made too common. At the same time, I think it may excite some unpleasant feeling in the Provinces. Still, as long as the order of Her Majesty exists, it is Your Excellency's duty, as you said to me, to see it enforced.

I think the time has arrived when the form of the Orders-in-Council should be modified, and a new practice introduced. I shall bring the matter up in Council and then take Your Excellency's pleasure on it before reducing it to writing. My idea is to have two descriptions of papers:

1. Orders-in-Council and 2nd, Minutes of Council. In adopting the first (or O. C.'s) the Governor-General should be present, or supposed to be present. The 2nd, or Minutes of Council, will be merely conclusions of the Cabinet, and are submitted for your sanction, as advice tendered by your responsible advisers.

The carrying out of capital sentences by Order-in-Council is an exceptional course, depending on the Royal instructions.

Formerly Governors-General always decided [?] in full Council. This should, I think, still be done, where there is a difference of opinion in Council.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Earl of Dufferin.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Joseph Howe.

February 17th, 1873.

MY DEAR MR. HOWE,

The attention of the Governor-General has been called to the fact that all Governors of the Provinces of the Dominion are still addressed by the title of "Your Excellency." As this is contrary to Her Majesty's regulations, which orders that a Lieutenant-Governor, since 1st July, 1867, shall be addressed as "His Honour," it is His Excellency's desire that this regulation be adhered to in all official correspondence.

Believe me, My dear Mr. Howe,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. J. Howe.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Ottawa, February 21st, 1873.

My dear Lord Dufferin,

I enclose you Sir Francis Hincks' letter of resignation, which I regret being obliged to submit for your acceptance. His family dread so much the labour of the session for him, that he has been obliged to yield to their entreaties. I am inclined to think that his family are right, as he was much exhausted at the end of last session, and he is now a year older. I desire to submit Mr. Tilley's name as his successor. This will involve the necessity of making some other changes, which I will have ready for your consideration on Monday.

If your Excellency could conveniently come to Council Monday afternoon, Mr. Tilley could be then sworn in to his new office.

Believe me,
Faithfully yours,
John A. Macdonald.

From M. Jean Thomas Taschereau[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Québec, 22 Fevrier, 1873.

Cher Sir John,

Je viens de recevoir une commission me nommant Juge puiné de la Cour du Banc de la Reine pour la Province de Québec. J'apprécie au plus haut dégré l'honneur que cet appointement me confére, et je dois vous offrir mes plus sincères remerciements pour la bonté extrême que vous avez eue de soumettre mon nom à Son Excellence le Gouverneur Général comme celui d'un *bon* et *loyal sujet* de Sa Majesté, et digne d'occuper la charge en question.

J'ai l'honneur d'être,
Votre tout dévoué et
obéissant serviteur,
J. T. Taschereau.

L'Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,
Ottawa.

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[1] The Hon. Jean Thomas Taschereau, father of the late Sir Henry Thomas Taschereau, Knight, Chief Justice of Quebec, and of the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Prime Minister of that Province. Appointed a *puisne* judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, 1875; retired therefrom, 1878. Died, 9th November, 1893.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Mr. Justice J. T. Taschereau.

Ottawa, February 27th, 1873.

My dear Mr. Taschereau,

I have your note of the 22nd instant.

I had great pleasure in submitting your name to His Excellency for the honourable position of judge of the Queen's Bench, believing that your learning and ability would enable you to fill it with honour to yourself and advantage to your country.

Believe me,
My dear Mr. Taschereau,
Yours very sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

The Hon. J. T. Taschereau,
Judge Queen's Bench,
Quebec.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Ottawa, 19th March, 1873.

My dear Lord Dufferin,

The Colonial Regulations have not, as yet, been applied to the Lieutenant-Governors of the Dominion, since Confederation. They therefore will not be in the way.

I see no objection to Sir Hastings Doyle accepting a well deserved testimonial on his retiring forever from Nova Scotia. A testimonial given to a Governor during his term of office would be objectionable; so would a testimonial to a Lieutenant-Governor from any parties in a Province, were it given for any act of the Governor or course pursued by him which did not meet with the approbation of Her Majesty or the Governor-General.

I see no reason why, in the present case, Sir Hastings should not accept the piece of plate.

We had the second division of the Session last night. It was on the same question as the first, and we improved our majority from 16 to 25. Among those who voted against us were several gentlemen who are supporters of

the Administration, but who took the same view of the legal question as the Opposition.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Governor-General,
Rideau Hall.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Ottawa, 4th April, 1873.

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

Thanks for Mr. Robinson's telegram. Our information from the Island quite accords with this message. Pope's party[1] which has triumphed, was always in close alliance with us of the Dominion on the subject of Confederation. It was defeated by Mr. Haythorne and his friends who are anti-confederates. At the last moment Haythorne & Co., took up Confederation as *une planche de salut*, fearing defeat in their general policy at the approaching meeting of the Legislature.

They have met the just reward of their tortuous policy. The original friends of Confederation have succeeded, and will have the credit of carrying the measure. I understand that Laird,[2] who was here with Haythorne will join Pope's administration. I hope this is so, for the sake of the cause, although it does not raise Mr. Laird in my estimation. His presence there will shield us from any attempts at *still better* terms.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Governor-General,
Rideau Hall.

[1] The Hon. James Colledge Pope, Premier of Prince Edward Island, Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Government of Canada (1878–1882). Died, 18th May, 1885.

[2] The Hon. David Laird, who did not join Pope's administration, but became Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of Mr. Mackenzie upon that gentleman's

From Sir George Cartier, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

47 Welbeck Street, London, W.,
5th April, 1873.

Private.

My dear Macdonald,

Thanks for your cablegram of day before yesterday which at once I sent to Rose. I felt so much relieved in my mind to know that you have had such triumph. The man of the *Toronto Globe* telegraphed the result of the vote[1] here also, but in a way to diminish the importance of it. The *Times* this morning has another cablegram from Toronto in order to weaken the effect of the majority you got the other day. It says "notwithstanding the vote of 31 which the Government obtained, the Government was forced to grant the special committee to enquire into charges brought against them." I have not, as yet, seen Sir Hugh Allan in order to concoct some means to have Reuter here to dismiss the *Globe's* man as his cable correspondent. Your victory has had a good effect here. I saw Dr. Johnson yesterday; he says I am still improving, and says if I continue to thus improve, there will be no impediment in my sailing for Canada in the beginning of May. I was pleased to hear him thus speaking. As I had been requested, I called to see the Prince of Wales Sunday afternoon last. He received me so kindly and graciously. He enquired minutely about my health and Canadian matters. He takes great interest in our doings. He said he might again visit Canada. His five children were round him at the time of my visit. It was a pleasing sight to see him surrounded by the Royal children. He is to go to Vienna to attend the opening of the Exhibition, and he asked me to go and see him again after his return, and before I leave. I am watching the bill about the copyright matter. I hope it will pass as first drafted.

With kind remembrances to our colleagues and to Lady Macdonald, my dear Macdonald, believe me, as always,

Yours devoted colleague,
Geo. Et. Cartier.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

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accession to the Premiership of Canada in November, 1873. In 1876 Mr. Laird was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, and held office until 1881. Died, 12th January, 1914.

[1] This refers to the vote taken in the Canadian House of Commons on the 2nd April, 1873, rejecting a motion of the Hon. L. S. Huntington in relation to his charges of corruption against the Government in the matter of what was commonly called the Pacific Scandal. See *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 164–5: 329.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Rideau Hall, 21st May, 1873.*

My dear Sir John,

I can quite understand how very deeply you must be affected by the news of poor Cartier's death. Having fought so many tough battles side by side, and having had so many opportunities of appreciating his courage, energy, and loyal friendship, the sudden disappearance of such a colleague cannot fail to create a great and almost irremediable gap in your political surroundings.

The more that I have learnt of the character of political life in this country, the closer I have gauged the capacity of our public men, and the temper and procedure of the Canadian Parliament, the better I am able to comprehend how great a weight of mental labour and personal responsibility rests upon your individual shoulders.

Under these circumstances I cannot but sympathize with you in the isolation of your position, the sense of which this sudden news cannot fail to intensify.

Yours sincerely,
Dufferin.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.,

From the Hon. Joseph Howe to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Halifax, Nova Scotia,
May 23rd, 1873.

My dear Sir John,

I see by the papers that your session is to close to-day, and I congratulate you with all my heart upon the termination of your legislative labours. I have never known you in greater force from the beginning to the end; more full of resource, or more successful, and you have been seconded with great industry and ability by your colleagues. You will all now want rest, and the sooner you scatter and take it the better.

Strange to say poor Sir George's death neither surprised nor shocked me. The passage which I read to you from the *Quarterly Review* convinced me that he had no chance of restoration to health, and the barbarous manner in which he had been stricken down by his old friends and constituents, reconciled me to his loss. Let those who are responsible for his wreck have all the power and glory of it. His reputation will live in the hearts of his countrymen, and his genial qualities will long be remembered by his old associates.

Since I left you I have been trembling between life and death myself, and am even now trusting to the approach of spring to strike the balance in my favour. I was reluctant to leave Ottawa while there was a single

Nova Scotian adrift, and lingered as I did last year, too long. There was ice and snow all along the track in Vermont and New Hampshire, and cold, east winds in Boston. I was pretty well used up by the time I got to Halifax, and have only been out of the house twice since I arrived. Spring will burst upon us in about another week, and then, if there is anything left to build on, I hope to get all right again.

My reception here was all I could wish—quiet, but cordial. All classes, I think, are pleased. Annand went off on some errand to the States, but all the other members of the local Governments have behaved very well. Of course I shall make no trouble and apprehend no difficulties.

With Mrs. Howe's and my best respects to Lady Macdonald, and kind regards to your colleagues,

Believe me,
My dear Sir John,
Yours sincerely,
JOSEPH HOWE.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Rev. James Quin.

Private. *Ottawa, 29th May, 1873.*

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

I fear that the pressure of sessional business prevented me from answering your note.

You will have observed how the School Question[1] ended. It is the bounden duty of the Government of the Dominion, in the first place, to support the Constitution. The Constitution would not be worth the paper it is written on, unless the rights of the Provincial Legislatures were supported. It is not a matter for the consideration of the Governor General whether the Legislature of any Province acts wisely or unwisely. The simple question is: had it jurisdiction? Was it competent to pass the law? Now the Governor General had been instructed by Her Majesty's Government, from whom he must take his orders, that the School Law was within the jurisdiction of the New Brunswick Legislature.

It follows as a matter of course that if the jurisdiction existed at Fredericton, it did not exist here, and that neither

[1] This letter refers to an agitation which arose in 1872 over certain legislation of the Provincial Government of New Brunswick in relation to Catholic schools in that Province, which legislation the Canadian Government was unsuccessfully pressed to disallow.

the Parliament nor the Government of the Dominion had any constitutional right to interfere.

In the discussion that took place last session, I expressed as strongly as I could my opinion as to the want of wisdom displayed by the Legislature of New Brunswick in the school legislation. I spoke in the hearing of the leading members of the New Brunswick Government.

It appears to me, however, that the Catholics, if they pursue a wise course at the next elections, will be masters of the position. They should not agitate the School Question too much, or they will raise a Protestant sentiment against it; they should simply use their influence in favour of those Candidates who will promise to do them justice. In the balance of parties in your Province, it seems to me that the Catholics are strong enough to carry their point. Such a policy, to be successful, must, however, be carried out quietly.

Believe me,
Reverend and dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Rev. James Quin,
St. Stephen,
New Brunswick.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Private. *Ottawa, 2nd June, 1873.*

MY DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

An Order-in-Council passed to-day calling attention of Her Majesty's Government to the question of amnesty for the troubles in Manitoba.

It appears to me that the private suggestion I made to Lord Lisgar is the correct solution of the matter. I think that an amnesty for all occurrences during the disturbances of 1869 and 1870 should be granted, except with respect to those who were concerned in the murder of Thomas Scott.

This will not completely satisfy the halfbreeds who rose

in arms at that time, as they look upon Riel as their leader. It will however have the effect, I think, of making them feel safe as a body; and it will have a tendency to isolate Riel from them. This will, I hope, drive him out of the country, which is a consummation devoutly to be wished. If he is tried at Manitoba, he will either be acquitted, or the jury will not agree, and while he is there, he will be a continual fire brand.

I am now ready to wait on your lordship at any time to discuss the various matters of public interest which have stood over for more pressing matters. You will have seen by the avalanche of Minutes of Council we have sent you, that we have not been idle since Parliament rose.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Very faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Governor-General,
Rideau Hall.

The three letters immediately following relate to the proceedings of the Select Committee[1] appointed by the House of Commons in the first Session of 1873 to enquire into certain charges brought against the Ministry by Mr. L. S. Huntington of having, in consideration of large sums of money supplied for Election purposes, corruptly granted to Sir Hugh Allan and his associates the Charter for building the Canadian Pacific Railway. Parliament had sought to invest this Committee with power to examine on oath witnesses brought before them, but the Act passed with that object in view was disallowed by the Imperial Authorities on the ground that it was *ultra vires* of the Parliament of Canada. The Committee, not conceiving themselves at

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[1] The Committee was composed of the following members: Messrs. John Hillyard Cameron (Chairman), J. G. Blanchet, Edward Blake, A. A. Dorion and James McDonald. The three judges subsequently appointed by Royal Commission were:—the Hon. Charles Dewey Day, the Hon. Antoine Polette, and James Robert Gowan, Esq. For a detailed account of this whole affair see *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 164–195, also Journal of the House of Commons, 1873, Vol. VII, pp. 5–119.

liberty to depart from the instructions given them by the House of Commons to take the evidence under oath, adjourned until the 13th August, the day fixed for the reception of their report. On the following day a Royal Commission issued under the Great Seal, appointed three judges to investigate into and report upon the charges made by Mr. Huntington. The report of this Commission was laid before Parliament by the Governor-General on the 23rd October and the Ministry resigned on the 5th November.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Montreal, 3rd July, 1873.

My dear Lord Dufferin,

I duly received from Mr. Kidd, Lord Kimberley's telegram stating that the Oaths Bill had been disallowed by Her Majesty in Council. I thereupon made a draft of the necessary proclamation, and obtained from the Colonial Office the date of the receipt of the Bill by the Secretary of State, which by law must be inserted in the proclamation. On receipt of the answer the proclamation was issued on Monday.

On Saturday I saw Hillyard Cameron who told me that Blake and Dorion last week held that oaths might be administered to the witnesses up to the time of the actual disallowance of the Act by proclamation, as by the Constitution all acts performed under an Act of Parliament until disallowed were legal. I pointed out to Cameron that that doctrine was quite correct where a Bill was disallowed by Her Majesty on the ground that she disapproved of it; but that it was otherwise where an Act was disallowed as being *ultra vires*. There, the Act was waste paper, and there was no necessity, in fact, for disallowance.

He replied that the Committee could not officially know the grounds of the disallowance. To this my rejoinder was, in order to point out the weakness of his doctrine, that it would be the duty of Your Excellency as the Act was an illegal one, to take the earliest opportunity of carrying out your instructions and proclaiming the disallowance. That if the witnesses were sworn before the issue of the Proclama-

tion, no matter how falsely they might swear, they could not afterwards be convicted of perjury, because the oath administered to them would be illegal. That there was nothing to prevent Mr. Huntington saying to his witnesses, if he was disposed to do so, that they might fear no legal consequences from any perjury committed. That while these witnesses would therefore be quite safe from punishment, it would go to the country that they had been sworn, and their testimony would have weight as being given under stress of an oath. That the moment the Proclamation was issued, no further evidence could be taken, and the Government would be deprived of all opportunity of putting in any testimony whatever. And that even if the House of Commons should, when it met, repeal its instruction to take evidence only under oath, the effect would be still unfair to the Government; as the evidence adduced against them would be under oath, while that adduced in their favour would not have that advantage or sanction.

The Committee met yesterday at 2 o'clock. I did not attend nor did any of the Administration, leaving the Committee to settle the form of proceeding.

On its being announced by the Chairman that the Act was disallowed, as I understand it, Mr. Dorion moved that the Committee should proceed with the examining of witnesses without oath.

Mr. McDonald of Pictou moved that the Committee were bound by the instructions of the Commons, and there was I understand, a lengthy discussion before the public on the subject.

Blake held that the instruction was no longer binding as the Act was disallowed; but McDonald and Cameron contended, and I think rightly, that it was evidently the intention of the House that the evidence should be taken only under oath, and that the House passed the Bill for that purpose and for no other. That the fact of the Bill being disallowed did not do away with the instruction; but would compel the Committee to report the facts and ask further instructions from the source of their authority.

Cameron suggested that the Government might apply, without delay, to Her Majesty's Government to pass a Bill

in the Imperial Parliament giving the necessary powers. This was also objected to by Dorion and Blake, on the ground that the Government had no right to ask for an alteration in our Constitutional Act, without the direct assent of the Canadian Parliament. Cameron argued that the passage of the Oaths Bill by the Canadian Parliament must be held to be equivalent to an address. In this I fear that Cameron had the worst of the argument. It is one thing for the Canadian Parliament to legislate within what it believes to be its power, and quite another for the Canadian Government, without the sanction of Parliament, to assume the power of asking the Imperial Parliament to alter our Constitution. The British North America Act 1867 is a Charter granted to the people of the Dominion, and cannot properly be altered or diminished unless by fault or forfeiture or on the request of the Canadian Parliament.

The Committee meet again at 2 o'clock to-day, and I intend to write a formal letter offering them a Commission. I shall probably, in my letter, state that the proposition to ask for an Imperial Act will be submitted by me to Your Excellency in Council for consideration. I, of course, cannot in any way state what advice your Advisers would tender you on the point, as our oaths of office as Privy Councillors bind us to secrecy as to the advice we may offer you until it has been offered, and then only by your consent.

If, which is not probable, the Committee should decide to accept the Commission, I propose to send a special messenger to Your Excellency with it, in order to get your signature. The draft Commission is all ready, the Great Seal attached, and everything complete except your signature as Governor-General.

Commissions in ordinary cases are sometimes issued when the Governor-General is absent, without his name, which can be attached at any time afterwards; but as parties may be indicted for perjury under this one, I think it should be completed by your signature before it is delivered to the Committee.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Montreal, 3rd July, 1873.

My dear Lord Dufferin,

I shall send you a blank Commission appointing a Deputy Governor for the simple purpose of proroguing the House on the 13th August. I leave it blank in order that it may be filled up at the last moment, lest the Deputy should, from sudden death or any other cause, be absent. In such case Parliament would be obliged to sit until you came up or sent another Commission.

It is my purpose, with your sanction, to insert the name of the Hon. John Hamilton, the father of the Senate. Should he be unable to be present, the blank will be filled up with the name of some Senator who may happen to be at Ottawa on the day.

We have two instances in the history of Canada where this occurred:—Lord Sydenham, on his death bed, appointed Major General John Clitherow, who happened to be at the seat of Government at the time, his Deputy to prorogue the House and give his assent to the Bills. And Lord Elgin, in 1849, appointed Major General W. Rowan Deputy Governor for the same purpose at Montreal.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Faithfully yours,
John A. Macdonald.

His Excellency
The Governor-General
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Montreal, 4th July, 1873.

My dear Lord Dufferin,

I continue my narrative of the events occurring here.

Yesterday at 2 o'clock the Committee reassembled, but in a private room instead of, as before, in public. There were only present the members of the Committee and Mr. Holton,

M.P. Cameron read my letter on the subject of a reference to England. This unwise proposition of Cameron's has done a good deal of mischief, as it is industriously disseminated that I was the suggester.

He then read my letter repeating the offer of a Commission, and related that he would agree to go on the Commission if all his colleagues on the Committee did, but not otherwise. He asked Dorion if he would act—Dorion said he would not. He then asked Blake who replied that he (Cameron) had no right to ask him that question, but that he would write me an answer.

Cameron then said that I had given a letter to him to be communicated to his colleagues on the Committee. This is your letter. He said that it was for the information of himself and the other members of the Committee, but that I had not given him permission to make it public. Dorion declined to take communication of it, unless it were read out in public, and although Holton went to him to induce him to withdraw this statement, he refused to do so. Cameron thereupon returned me your letter.

I told Cameron that as he would see by the terms of your note, I had your permission to make any use of it I pleased in communicating with the members of the Committee but that I did not conceive I had any right to extend such communication. Its publication would, of course, have been of great service to me; but it would not do, in my opinion, to allow the Governor-General's name to be brought into the matter without his consent.

The report published in the newspapers will show what occurred when the Committee opened the public proceedings.

It was rumoured in the afternoon that Mr. Huntington was going to abandon the prosecution and publish Sir Hugh's letters, of which he had bought the copies, it is said here, from McMullen for $25,000. Late in the evening I received letters from Blake and Dorion refusing to act on the Commission.

This morning Allan's correspondence appeared in the Montreal *Herald*, most uncandidly however omitting two letters from Allan written in October last, which broke off all further association between himself and the American capitalists.

Sir Hugh, as you may fancy, was in considerable distress

about the publication of his letters. On the other hand I was exceedingly glad to see them *in extenso.* * * * * Last night, before the letters came out, I told him that if they were published, as I supposed they would be, I must insist upon his making an affidavit of all the facts as to his relations with the Government, the railway and the elections, which he promised to do. I have held him to his promise, and Mr. Abbott, M.P., his counsel, has prepared an affidavit, the draft of which I have seen. This truly states his relations with the Government so far as I am aware of them, and I hope you will see that it fully maintains all that I have stated to you on the subject. The affidavit is very skilfully drawn by Abbott. He has made the old gentleman acknowledge on oath that his letters were untrue. This was a bitter pill for him to swallow, but Abbott has gilded it over for him very nicely. So the matter now stands.

I shall send you a copy of the Montreal *Gazette* which will contain all Allan's letters, his affidavit and Cameron's letter as Chairman, to me about the Commission, as well as those of Blake and Dorion.

The *Herald* of this morning in its editorial states that the majority of the Committee were under my dictation, and yielded to all my suggestions. Now as I never made any suggestion of any kind to them since they were appointed on the Committee, except the proposition to give them a Royal Commission, I called upon them to say so in a letter to the newspaper that had made the statement. You will see that they have done so.

You can have no idea of the false statements that Mr. Huntington and his friends have endeavoured to disseminate here. Mr. Dymond, the Editor of the Toronto *Globe*, said in the presence of a number of persons, that as a reward for my subserviency in the matter of the Washington treaty, I had made it a matter of personal obligation with Mr. Gladstone to enable me to defeat the enquiry by procuring the disallowance of the Oaths Bill. Mr. Holton stated, in the presence of the Editor of the Montreal *Gazette*, Mr. White, that he knew I had urged the disallowance of the Act; and it has been said on the street and I think in the Press as well, that I had sent Bernard to England for the express purpose of getting the disallowance.

I have not answered Blake's letter yet, but intend to do so on my return to Ottawa. I want to look at the precedent of the Ceylon case where, at the instance of the Special Committee to enquire into the conduct of Lord Torrington, the Governor, a Royal Commission was issued to take the evidence at the Island on oath. In my letter I shall show that my want of confidence in the spirit of justice of Dorion and Blake has been fully justified by the light of events that have occurred since I made the statement on the floor of the House.

There is a good deal of amusement about the expression in one of Allan's letters that he "had made it all right with the *Globe*."

The publication of these letters, although very fortunate for the Government, is a serious breach of privilege. The House positively refused to allow Huntington to read them in the House, upon the ground that as they were to form a portion of the enquiry before the Committee and to be put in evidence, they could not possibly be published previously.

So ends for the present the history of the Committee.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Yours very faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Governor-General,
Charlottetown.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Charlottetown, 21st July, 1873.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I need not say with what extreme pleasure and interest I read your letters of the 3rd, 4th and 5th of July which I found awaiting my arrival in this place.

The unfolding of the drama is quite sensational, and in spite of all the annoyance to which you have been put by this business, must have afforded you a good deal of amusement.

I certainly do not understand Blake and Dorion objecting to the Commission, provided they had a *bona fide* desire to prosecute the enquiry, but now that the rocket has exploded at the wrong end, I suppose we shall

not hear much more of the business. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the way in which your own position and that of your colleagues remains unassailed in the midst of all these disreputable proceedings, but I can scarcely understand Allan surviving the exposure.

I am afraid that Cameron, from first to last, has shown less legal acumen than might have been expected from his professional reputation. I return you his letter and I am very sensible of your consideration in not consenting to its being made public.

I have signed Archibald's commission, and all the documents you have forwarded to me. I should think Archibald will make a good Lieutenant Governor for Nova Scotia, and it will be pleasant to find him in Halifax when we arrive there, as I liked what I saw of him at Ottawa.

I had already forwarded to England the memorandum of which you now send me a duplicate, in relation to the New Brunswick School Act, and had requested Lord Kimberley to take the matter into his early consideration, but I will refresh his memory on the subject by the next post.

I will also not forget to sign Robinson's commission. I found the Island in a high state of jubilation, and quite under the impression that it is the Dominion that has been annexed to Prince Edward, and in alluding to the subject, I have adopted the same tone. It certainly is a very pretty place, with wonderful harbours and water communications, and it is quite refreshing to let one's eye wander over its breadths of cultivated land without being brought up by a wall of bush at the end of the third field, as is so often the case in Canada.

Robinson strikes me as a strong man, with lots of backbone and considerable ability. I am half of a mind, if it met with your approval, to get Kimberley to send him on to Newfoundland, if Hill retires, as I suppose he will soon, as he would make it a point of honour to confederate.

We missed Mitchell at Miramichi, and unfortunately had a bad accident at Chatham. Two men were destroyed by the premature explosion of a gun. I happened to be looking through my glass at the time and saw the two poor fellows stretched on the ground. It seems to have been the result of pure carelessness. There was nobody but a young volunteer sergeant with the firing party, who probably had had as little experience as his men, and perhaps they had all been a little elevated with liquor. I am inclined to think that it would be well if the Minister of Militia issued an order forbidding the discharge of guns except under the immediate supervision of a competent officer. As far as I am concerned I should be quite willing that all salutes should be abandoned, rather than that the men should run such risks, but as these Batteries are served by *bona fide* militiamen, it perhaps would not do to admit that they are incompetent to execute the very duty for which they are paid and trained.

I think Pope's Minute on the Hespeler question is very clear and able, and cannot fail to satisfy Lord Kimberley.

We leave here on Wednesday night the 23rd after a Ball given to us at the public expense. The 24th I spend at Pictou, and I hope by Monday or Tuesday following, the 28th or 29th, to reach Halifax, where we shall probably stay for three weeks.

I am delighted to think that you have got away from Ottawa, and are enjoying as near an approach to a holiday as is ever allowed to any one in your position. I should have been so glad to have carried you off to Tadousac, and entertained you in my new house. It has turned out a great success in every way, and is very pretty and convenient, and the children are delighted with their seashore life. We have the most excellent accounts of your little godchild who is pronounced to be what the nurses call "thriving."

Ever yours sincerely,
DUFFERIN.

P. S. I enclose you the copy of a letter which I have received from Lady Cartier to which I am sure you will give all due consideration.

D.

At the beginning of Confederation, the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces was established as the channel of communication between the General and Provincial Governments. It also managed the Dominion Lands recently acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company, and in that respect was the germ of the Department of the Interior created in 1873, the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces being abolished at the same time, and its ceremonial functions taken over by the Secretary of State of Canada. Mr. Campbell, the newly appointed Minister of the Interior, took the ground that his Department, and not that of the Secretary of State of Canada, should be the medium of communication with the Lieutenant-Governors of the Western Provinces, but his view did not find favour with Sir John Macdonald, and the Secretary of State of Canada remains to this day the appointed channel of communication between the Governor-General and all the Provincial Lieutenant-Governors.

From the Hon. A. Campbell to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, 27th July, 1873.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

The despatches from Morris are, as you say, "from a Lieutenant-Governor to the Governor-General" (or rather for his information), but that affords no reason, I think, why they should not come through me as Minister of the Interior. He can as well, and with equal propriety, address himself to me for the information of the Governor-General, as to the Secretary of State for the same object. The "inferiority of rank" argument I do not exactly understand. How can you infer from the fact that the Lt. Governor ranks higher than the Minister of the Interior, that his

despatches should be addressed to another minister who shares the same inferiority?

If your idea is (as I understand it originally) that the Minister of the Interior should be a "Secretary for the Colonies"—for Manitoba and the Northwest and British Columbia—and it is in this way that I can be useful—then the despatches, for convenience and promptitude, and that I have real control, should, in my judgment, come to me for the information of the Governor-General. The immediate control would in that case be most useful. If you merely wish me to manage the lands of the Crown out there, and the Council will do "the affairs of State," then the despatches need not certainly come to me. I speak only in (what to my mind is) the interests of the public service; but in the first alternative I mention, I am persuaded that I am right.

Ever yours sincerely,

A. Campbell.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

These dreadful steel pens make it difficult for me to write.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. W. P. Howland.

Private. *Ottawa, 28th August, 1873.*

My dear Howland,

I have at last had time to draw my report to the Governor-General on the Orange Bill of your last session. I have been obliged to hit your ministry over your shoulders, and report that you ought not to have reserved those bills for the Governor-General's assent. Bills are only reserved when, in the opinion of the Executive, they are beyond the competence or jurisdiction of the Legislature, or contrary to instructions.

The Governor-General is not called upon to take the advice of his Canadian ministers on the reservation of a bill. All that he has to do is to look at his Royal instructions. In the same way, every bill passed by a Provincial Legislature should be assented to, unless the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that it is beyond the jurisdiction of the Local Legislature, or if it be contrary to the instructions received from the Governor-General. But you, as a matter of course, will understand all this.

Believe me, in great haste,

Yours faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

His Excellency
The Hon. W. P. Howland,
Toronto.

From Mr. Francis Lawley to Sir John Macdonald.

Daily Telegraph Office, Fleet Street,
17th Sept., 1873.

My dear Sir John,

My pleasant recollection of our interviews during the sojourn of the Joint High Commission at Washington emboldens me herewith to commend to you the Earl of Rosebery who is about to pay his first visit to Canada, and who is one of the most promising speakers and politicians that the House of Lords contains. Lord Rosebery will, I am confident, play a very prominent part upon the stage of English politics, and I hope you will make him as enthusiastic a Canadian as

Yours very sincerely,
Francis Lawley.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From the Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

The Citadel, Quebec,
20th September, 1873.

My dear Sir John,

You half promised to arrange for some little closet for me in the House of Commons from whence I could hear what was going on. I hope you will be able to see your way to gratifying my wishes in this respect. Considering how untrustworthy are the newspaper reports, it is a matter of some importance that I should be able to hear with my own ears what passes.

Yours sincerely,
Dufferin.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Private. *Ottawa, 29th September, 1873.*

My dear Lord Dufferin,

Fletcher spoke to me about the "cage" in the House of Commons about the time your note arrived, and I mentioned to him what I thought of it. He said he would write you there anent, and I am sure you will be satisfied that I will only be too glad to meet your wishes. But I doubt the prudence of your being *known* to be present at any of the exciting debates that we may expect at the beginning of the session.

If, as I believe, we defeat the Opposition on the address, they will be sulky and savage, and ready to wreak their vengeance on everybody and everything. The burthen of their speeches on the Commission will be that the Crown cannot know, or ought not to know, what passed in the Commons; that such knowledge is a breach of their privileges. Now if this is said in the presence of the representative of the Crown—actually at the moment taking cognizance of the proceedings, the temptation to allude to such presence as a continuation of the breach, will be irresistible. One can not foresee what form the allusion may take. It may be a mere notice that there are strangers in the gallery; it may be a direct objection to your presence as unconstitutional, or it may take the form of an insulting remark. The first supposition will clear the galleries and exclude the reporters. If the public are deprived of the debates thereby, the blame will be laid upon you. A direct attack on your presence would be very unfortunate, especially if accompanied by an insult. The Crown would be brought into contempt. This would be discussed in the newspapers here and in England, and I fear that it might be said that you had brought it on yourself. The Grand Remonstrance against the Crown's taking cognizance of the proceedings of the House, would be quoted *ad nauseam*, and Mr. Holton would wax constitutionally indignant.

I do not suppose the Opposition leaders would use any unsavoury phrases, but there are several truculent blackguards in the House—annexationists and the like—who would like nothing better than the chance of snubbing the Sovereign. I shall send for Scott this week and see if a plan can be contrived where you can be present without being known. I doubt his being able to manage this, and if not, I would advise you to forego the advantage which a hearing of the debate would certainly be to you.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Dufferin,
Very faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Earl of Dufferin.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *The Citadel, Quebec, 30th September, 1873.*

My dear Sir John,

I fully appreciate the force of the objections you urge to my appearance in any place where I could be seen, or where it would be within the power of anyone to notice me. The utmost that I asked for was exactly what you describe—a *'Dionysius Ear'*—a closet, no matter how dark or inconvenient, not within the House, but I leave the matter entirely to your better judgment.

I think Morris deserves great credit, and I will communicate your opinion to that effect to Lord Kimberley. I want you now to send me an official opinion, as my legal adviser, upon the proposition contained in Blake's speech at London for constituting what he calls a *Parliamentary Commission*. Some time since, I had written to Lord Kimberley, noting the suggestion, and asking him to arm me beforehand with the opinion of the Law Officers upon such an Act, in the event of my having to deal with it. Lord Kimberley has replied by telegram, asking first to be furnished with your official opinion.

We intend to come up to Ottawa about the 15th.

Yours sincerely,

Dufferin.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House, Ottawa, October 19th, 1873.

My dear Sir John,

It is with greater pain than ever I did anything in my life that I now sit down to write to you, but I feel it is but justice you should know the conclusions to which, I fear, I am being forced by a most anxious study of the evidence adduced before the Commission. Of course, until an authentic copy of that evidence is placed in my hands, I am not required to arrive at a decision; it is not, therefore, as the Governor-General of Canada that I address you, but as a warm and sincere friend, desirous of putting you on your guard against eventualities which it is well you should provide against in time. I am the more anxious to do this, as the friendly spirit I have evinced towards you during the course of this unfortunate business may have led you to count upon my support, beyond the point to which I might find myself able to extend it.

But, however deeply I may sympathise with you in your difficulties—difficulties into which you have been drawn in a great measure by circumstances beyond your control—I shall be bound to sacrifice my personal

inclinations to what may become my duty to my Sovereign and this country.

What I feel is simply this—that although it has been distinctly proved that in numerous respects you have been the victim of the most atrocious calumnies—that your personal honour is as stainless as it has ever been—that in spite of many inducements to the contrary, in spite of Cartier's weakness, you have religiously protected the interests of Canada both against the American speculators who addressed you, and against the approaches of Sir Hugh Allan—that although it has evidently never entered into your thoughts to make a single illegitimate concession in consideration of the support and assistance you expected on other grounds to receive from Allan—it is still an indisputable and patent fact that you and some of your colleagues have been the channels through which extravagant sums of money—derived from a person with whom you were negotiating on the part of the Dominion—were distributed throughout the constituencies of Ontario and Quebec, and have been applied to purposes forbidden by the statutes.

This circumstance carries with it the further ill effect of rendering the arbitrament of Parliament itself untrustworthy.

In acting as you have, I am well convinced that you have only followed a traditional practice, and that probably your political opponents have resorted with equal freedom to the same expedients, but as Minister of Justice, and the official guardian and protector of the laws, your responsibilities are exceptional, and your immediate and personal connection with what has occurred, cannot but fatally affect your position as a minister.

I need not say what distress I experience in making this communication to you. Independent of the personal attachment I feel towards you, I have always had and still have the greatest faith and confidence in your ability, patriotism, integrity and statesmanship. I believe there is no one in the country capable of administering its affairs to greater advantage than yourself. It is to you in fact that Canada owes its existence, and your name will be preserved in history as the father and founder of the Dominion. But no considerations of this kind are sufficient, I fear, to affect the present situation, controlled, as it is, by a special and immediate necessity.

Not even Colonel Fletcher is aware of this letter. As I said before, it is not an announcement, but a friendly confidence in respect of a future contingency that I now make to you. I do not even say that the conclusions I have thus shadowed forth, are actually formed within my mind, but I feel it is but fair to let you know the tendency of my thoughts at the present moment.

I shall be in my office at half past 12 o'clock to-morrow. Until then pray keep this communication strictly secret.

It is right for me to add that I have not as yet received a word on the subject of any part of this affair from England.

Yours sincerely,

DUFFERIN.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Government House, Ottawa, 23rd October, 1873.*

My dear Sir John,

There is one sentence in the Speech which I am afraid I must ask you to omit, namely, that in which I am made to say—"The evidence obtained under the Commission has had my careful consideration."

This refers to personal operation of my own mind, and transfers to me consequently a *personal* responsibility. It invests me, in fact, with the character of *arbiter*, which thank God, under the intimation [*sic*] I have received, I am not called upon to be. Moreover, the Crown *acts*, but it does not *consider*, under the advice of its ministers.

You might easily turn the sentence into—"The evidence obtained under the Commission will require, or deserves, careful consideration."[1]

Yours sincerely

Dufferin.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Government House, Ottawa, 4th November, 1873.*

My dear Sir John,

Lady Dufferin came home at 3 o'clock in the morning brimful of your speech[2]. Her Excellency was pleased to keep me awake from 3 to 5, repeating it with appropriate action, and told me that nothing could have been more wonderful than your effort.

Round the breakfast table at Rideau this morning there was a continuous chorus of admiration from all my English friends.

I hope you are not the worse for the strain of these last few days must have tried you terribly.

Yours in haste,

Dufferin.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.

From the Countess of Dufferin to Lady Macdonald.

Tuesday, 4th November, 1873.

My dear Lady Macdonald,

I hope Sir John is well this morning after his great exertions. We have all been talking with the greatest admiration of his splendid speech. It

[1] A reference to the Journals of the House of Commons, 1873 (second session), p. 4, will show that this suggestion was adopted.

[2] On the Pacific Railway charges. Delivered in the House of Commons by Sir John Macdonald on the 3rd November, 1873, immediately prior to his resignation of the office of Prime Minister.

grows upon one as one thinks over its various points, and we all feel that it was great good fortune for us to have been present at it.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

H. DUFFERIN.

From Colonel H. C. Fletcher to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

Government House, Ottawa, 5th November, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Will you allow me to express to you how deeply I feel all your kindness to me since I have been brought, officially and unofficially, in connection with you, and how sincerely sorry I am at the reverse of fortune that has overtaken you. I know well that it has been a great privilege to me to have worked, in however humble a position, with so great a minister as you have been, and on my own part I cannot but hope that at some future time I may again have the pleasure of being a means of communication between His Excellency and yourself. Pray do not think of sending a reply to this note. I would not have troubled you with it, but I was anxious that you should know that I was not unmindful or ungrateful for the kindness you have invariably shown me.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

H. C. Fletcher.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.

PART III

1874–1885

PART III

1874–1885

Sir John Macdonald resigned office as Prime Minister of Canada on the 5th November, 1873, and resumed his old position at the head of affairs on the 17th October, 1878. Beyond letters of a strictly political nature, most of which have lost their interest with the lapse of time, the record of his correspondence during this interval of five years is meagre. This, no doubt, is partly to be ascribed to lack of secretarial assistance and other facilities incidental to public office, which his limited means did not permit him to enjoy in private life.

From T. C. Patteson,[1] *Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.*

Toronto, Feb. 17, 1874.

My dear Sir John,

I tore up your letters and will tear up the copy of the MS. referred to. It will be serviceable: but to be so should be frequent and sustained: which at the length of the sample number can, I suppose, be managed. Two or three times a week none too many.

I have written long letters to-day to Carling, Gibbs, *et al.*

Sir Hugh promised to further my views *re* trip to England: and I shall trust to you to thwart any movements made in my absence having for their object a change of the *status quo* at the *Mail* office: not that I anticipate any: or at least their serious inception.

We are circulating now 15,000 weeklies at $1.50 each, in place of $1.00 as last year, when the highest number reached was 18,000: and no *profit*. If we can hold even 12,000 in spite of the rise in price, it will be a net cash gain of $6,000. Advertisements ought to increase say $2,000 and I will swear expenditure has decreased $2,000. In other words we have a fair prospect of doing a better business this year than last by $10,000. With about $6,000 from "casual" sources we can pull through. Can you find 3 men to go $1,000 each, not already in our books? I will undertake to find $1,000 for every $1,000 you will. There! (as a child says).

[1] T. C. Patteson, M.A., at this time editor in chief and business manager of the *Mail* newspaper; afterwards Postmaster of Toronto. Died, 20th September, 1907.

Our friend Plumb[1] has a feed to-night at Niagara. If he doesn't burst himself he will in the end be a useful man. At present he is simply *insane*. That between ourselves: for you know, he is one of my most intimate friends.[2] The Jenkins[3] appointment is a bad one. He is regarded as an adventurer and a charlatan by the leading Londoners, who stick up for Canada, and they will leave him alone in his glory.

V. C. Strong says he knows thro' Sam Blake that Brown and Edward couldn't get on. Moss too, has said as much, and takes credit for incensing Blake against Brown. No doubt Blake is not with *us:* but it does no harm for people to begin to think he is. It all goes to undermine their stability.

I dined alone with Ld. and Lady Dufferin at Montreal, and the whole bent of their minds is to stay in Canada long enough to see—a change. To be of any service to us, this must be a secret bent: and the fear is that the direction of it may receive some outward and visible colouring from the gossip of A. D. C.'s. I was *frightened* at some things *they* said. . . .

Yours
at the end of my paper
T. C. P.

From Hewitt Bernard, Esq., to Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin.

Ottawa, 22nd December, 1874.

Dear Lord Dufferin,

You ask me to give you some memoranda in reference to proceedings in which the confederation of the Provinces of B.N.A. was passed.

I acted as Secretary to the delegates from the various Provinces which met in Quebec in October, 1864, who then passed the resolutions which, with some subsequent alterations, formed the germ of Confederation.

And I acted in the same capacity at London in 1866-67, when resolutions were made on which was passed the B.N.A. Act, 1867, by which Confederation was accomplished.

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[1] Josiah Burr Plumb, a close friend of Sir John Macdonald, elected to the House of Commons for Niagara, 1874: was an effective member of the Opposition (1874–1878). In the General Elections of 1878, his opponent was declared elected by a majority of two votes, but was subsequently unseated and disqualified for bribery, and the seat awarded to Mr. Plumb. Called to the Senate 8th February, 1883; appointed Speaker of the Senate, 4th April, 1887. Died, 12th March, 1888.

[2] This allusion to "intimate friends" has a delicious Pattesonian flavour all its own.

[3] Edward Jenkins, son of the Reverend John Jenkins, D.D., a much respected Church of Scotland clergyman in Montreal: Author of "Ginx's Baby"; M.P. for Dundee in the Imperial House of Commons (1874–1880); appointed by the Canadian Government General Resident Agent for the Dominion, and Superintendent of Emigration in London, 16th February, 1874; resigned in 1877. Died, 4th June, 1910.

But on these occasions it was determined that no minutes of the various discussions should be taken, and no record, therefore, exists of them.

The resolutions passed at the meeting at Quebec in Oct., 1864, were submitted to the Legislature of the late Province of Canada, then constituting Upper and Lower Canada, and were fully debated in both Legislative Council and Assembly at its Session of 1865 and an address to the Queen was passed embodying them.

The then Colonial Secretary took exception to some matters of no great moment, but more especially as to Sec. 44, and it was determined that the Crown could not part with its prerogative of mercy to any Lieut. Govr. but that the same must be administered by and vested in Her Majesty's Representative, the Governor-General, alone.

I forward to Your Excellency a copy of the debates to which I have alluded, which in themselves contain much information.

The original Quebec resolutions will be found at the end of the volume; and a comparison with the B.N.A. Act, 1867, will shew in what respects they differed from the results effected by that Act.

The Act itself by which Confederation was thus brought into existence has, I think, notwithstanding many difficulties, worked wonderfully well.

The first difficulty arose in respect to Nova Scotia. That Province alleged that the scheme had not been submitted to the people, as had been the case with the old Province of Canada,[1] and with New Brunswick, but that it had been forced upon them. The result of negotiations between the Government of the Dominion and that of Nova Scotia, was the granting to the latter of what are spoken of as "better terms,"—that is, an improvement of the financial position of Nova Scotia under Confederation. This was attacked in Parliament here by the, then, opposition, as unsettling the basis of Confederation as regards other provinces, and would require a *pro rata* amendment in respect to them. But the matter being referred to the Imperial Law Officers, they gave their opinion that such a proceeding was legitimate; and a similar course was subsequently adopted in respect to New Brunswick.

Some doubts also existed as to the powers of the Parliament of Canada in respect to the creation of the new Province of Manitoba out of the North-West Territories; and this induced the passage of the Imperial Act of 1871, viz, 35 Vict. Chap 28.

The most noticeable feature in the constitution of Confederation is that which distinguishes it from that of the United States of America, in that the General Government and Legislative authority is reserved to the Dominion, and that there is assigned merely to the Provinces certain specified powers and certain specified subjects, which, being thus defined, they cannot exceed.

Yet I think there is, and I presume will always be on the part of the Provinces, an increasing tendency to urge what is known in America as "State Rights," and might here be called "Provincial Rights," rather in excess of that which is given to them by our Constitution.

[1] This is an obvious slip. Confederation was not submitted to the people of the Province of Canada at the polls. Both Macdonald and Brown held such a step to be unnecessary and inexpedient.

In America the conflict between Federal and State rights is sometimes rather severe, but the Supreme Court of the United States, a court of very high standing and reputation, has adjudicated with great ability on such cases.

As regards Canada, in the absence as yet of any Court of Appeal of the Dominion, which would finally settle any questions of such conflict as might arise between the Dominion and any Province, any Court may, nay, even any Justice of the Peace assumes, if he chooses, the right to determine the constitutionality of any Act which may be questioned before him.

It is for this reason that I suggest to Your Excellency the subjects which in any confederation of any other parts of Her Majesty's dominions, it may be advisable to consider, and I am personally aware that more explicit language would prevent difficulty.

Taking, therefore, the items within the powers granted by Section 92 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, the following suggestions arise:—

1. The Amendment of the Constitution. Has this power any limits, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Can a Provincial Legislature alter the Electoral Divisions and increase the number of its representatives beyond that fixed by the Imperial Act.

2. Direct Taxation. To what extent may this interfere with the power of taxation by Canada.

3. Municipal Institutions. It would appear advisable to define what powers the Legislature may confer on them, especially in regard to taxation.

9. Licenses. The non-interference with the Parliament of Canada in respect to excise duties should be more clearly expressed.

10. As a matter of policy, it has been much doubted whether all railways, even of a local nature, i.e., entirely within the boundaries of a Province, should not be solely within the jurisdiction of Parliament and beyond the competence of a Legislature. Personally I entertain a strong opinion that Railways of any kind should be dealt with solely by the Federal authority.

11. The Incorporation of Companies with Provincial objects. It is difficult to define what is a Provincial object. The Provinces of Canada assume to legislate on Fire Insurance, by incorporating companies for such purpose, confining their operations to the Province. But the policy of allowing them to deal with such a subject is doubtful.

12. The Solemnization of Marriage. It is difficult to discriminate between this subject as mentioned here, and the subject of Marriage and Divorce reserved to the Parliament of Canada.

13. Property and Civil Rights. It would be well if the powers of Parliament in respect to Property and Civil Rights on subjects within their sole competence had been more clearly defined, e.g., in the case of Railroads, the Parliament of Canada has enacted in respect to Property and Civil Rights incident thereto, such as the taking of lands, giving compensation therefor, the registering of their titles, the priority of securities and encumbrances, the making of contracts, the liabilities of the Company as carriers, etc. These all pertain to Property and Civil Rights as such; but the Parliament of Canada has assumed, and I think, rightly, that it is

competent to legislate in respect to Property and Civil Rights where incidental to any subject within its exclusive jurisdiction.

Legislatures have sought also, and unduly as I think, to deal with matters within the Prerogative of the Crown. For instance, Escheats and Forfeitures. There is no power conferred on a Legislature to treat of Escheat, for the lands escheated do not come within the terms of other portions of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, referring to public lands as being the property of the Provinces. Forfeitures again are in truth part of Criminal Procedure. I cite these cases to shew the necessity of having the legislative powers of a Province as carefully defined as may be done.

Had the Constitution of Canada embraced a Legislative Union, which would have been obviously very desirable, these conditions would have been avoided. But Your Excellency knows the difficulties which prevented such an arrangement.

I beg Your Excellency's correspondents will consider these imperfect suggestions as confidential, as, being a public servant, I should hardly consider myself at liberty in this manner to discuss any difficult points in our Constitution.

I am,
Dear Lord Dufferin,
Yours faithfully,
H. Bernard.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Stafford Northcote.

Private. *Ottawa, May 1st, 1878.*

My dear Sir Stafford Northcote,[1]

I feel that I have scarcely a right to intrude upon your time, taxed as it must be to the utmost at present.

Had Lord Carnarvon still been Colonial Minister, this note would have been addressed to him, but I do not know Sir M. Hicks-Beach, and we Canadians are glad to believe that in you we have a friend who knows much of our country, and takes an interest in its prosperity.

Without further apology, I shall at once state the object of my letter. It is to suggest the expediency (not to use a stronger word) of H. M. Government asking Lord Dufferin to remain here as Governor-General for two years longer. This is entirely my own suggestion, without communication with anyone. Lord Dufferin has now visited every portion

[1] Sir Stafford Northcote, with whom Sir John Macdonald had been closely associated at Washington in 1871, was, in 1878, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the Cabinet of Lord Beaconsfield.

of the Dominion, and has gained a knowledge of the country and its wants which his successor cannot hope to acquire, even if a man of as active habits as Lord D. himself, until near the end of his term.

Lord D.'s hardly earned experience can only be put to practical use by an extension of his period of Government, and it is a pity it should be lost to us. But in the present European complications, it seems to be almost necessary that he should remain. While little or no weight should be attached to the offers by Militia Officers here to raise corps for active service in case of war, I have no doubt that under a properly organized system, sanctioned by the Imperial and Canadian Governments, and pressed on the public attention in Lord Dufferin's singularly successful manner, a large auxiliary force could be raised and maintained during the war. Besides this, advantage should be taken of the present exigency and of the enthusiastic feeling of our people to lay the foundation of a standing army. In a time of profound peace such a proposition would be unpopular—would be objected to by the opposition of the day, and could not be carried by any ministry. And yet I am satisfied that the time has come for the formation of a regular force—closely connected with the Imperial army, and worked up to the same standard of training and discipline. Without this, Canada will never add to the strength of the Empire, but must remain a source of anxiety and weakness.

We must commence modestly, in order to carry the country with us, but a nucleus once formed, it could easily be expanded by degrees as necessity required. Now a new Governor would be powerless in advocating the adoption of such a scheme. Lord D., who is not only popular in the ordinary sense of the word, but has acquired the confidence of Parliament and people, would carry the country in its present war-like mood with him, if he took up the subject warmly and pressed it, in his own winning way. The opportunity should not be lost—it may not occur again in our time.

Again, Lord D. has made the subject of the construction, cumulate and requirements of the Canadian Pacific Railway his carriersial study. Until this great work is completed, our but the Pon is little more than a "geographical expression."

We have as much interest in B. Columbia as in Australia, and no more. The railway once finished, we become one great united country with a large inter-provincial trade, and a common interest. Were the railway in existence now, the Imperial Government need have no anxiety about the military protection of Vancouver Island and its harbours from Russian attacks, and the coal supply so necessary for the North Pacific Squadron would also easily be secured from attack.

At present Canada has no means of sending a military force or munitions of war to B. C., and that burden must therefore be thrown on England.

Lord D., if he remains, should be specially instructed to press the early completion of this work, which he could do with an authority to which no newcomer could pretend.

Lastly, it is of importance to Imperial interests that Newfoundland should be added to the Dominion. It would complete the great scheme of British North American Confederation begun in 1867—it would relieve the Colonial office from the trouble and responsibility of the direct government of the island, and it would throw upon Canada the burthen of its defence. And that defence would necessitate the creation of something like a naval force by our Government.

But more than all, in any future negotiations with the United States on the troublesome question of the Fisheries, the subject could be dealt with as a whole.

At present the interests of Canada and Newfoundland are not identical—their Governments might differ as to the policy to be adopted, and thus any final and satisfactory settlement might be thwarted. The two Governments might even quarrel as to the division of any compensation that might be agreed on or awarded.

Public opinion in the Island is now, I understand, pretty evenly balanced. There is the natural objection which exists in every political community to losing its autonomy, to be overcome, as well as the reluctance of its public men to be pushed off their pedestals.

A visit from Lord Dufferin, if charged with the mission, would, in my opinion, succeed. His reputation as a successful Governor of Canada would precede him, and ensure from the men who govern public opinion in the Island a warm

reception and a favourable hearing. He would go on this mission with exceptional advantages, and I should be greatly disappointed if his diplomatic skill did not enable him to effect his purpose.

Pray pardon me for thus travelling out of my sphere. I am sure you will attribute my doing so to the proper motive.

I can quite understand that a Conservative Government might want this important position for a political friend, and, as a Conservative, I should, in ordinary times, be glad to see one of the same political principles as myself governing us, but the expediency of setting aside this feeling just now is so obvious that I venture to urge it strongly on your attention.

I do not know how Lord D. would regard the proposal. I have heard him say that domestic matters required his early return to England, but I am much mistaken in him, if, when appealed to, on public grounds, he did not respond to the appeal.

Believe me, My dear Sir Stafford,
Very faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir Stafford Northcote to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

11 Downing Street, Whitehall,
May 25th, 1878.

DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

I have read your letter of the 1st with great interest, and have shown it to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who was a good deal struck by it. I cannot say anything as to its main suggestion, which of course is outside my own province. But what you say of Lord Dufferin is entirely in accordance with all that we hear of him. He has been an exceptionally successful Governor.

The present time is in many respects a critical time for the British Empire, and we should direct our attention to all measures tending to bind it together, and to turn all its forces to account. I hope and believe, that we shall maintain peace; and if we do, it will be not a little on account of our having done something to show that we can use, and mean to use, our Imperial strength in defence of Imperial interests. But there is more to be done in this direction. We ought to be able to show that our colonies are supports to the Mother Country, not, as some would have it, causes of embarrassment and weakness to her. I sometimes think, when I hear the stories of Russian cruisers preparing to harass our commerce in case of war, that it would be a great thing if some of our colonies were to declare that they should be ready to take part in protecting it. If any enemy

landed on the soil of Canada or Australia, the Canadians or Australians would come out in their defence. But the ocean is the common highway for all British vessels, and those of us who are interested in any portion of our commercial marine have as true an interest in assisting to defend that highway as to defend their own soil. An announcement that they meant to do so would have a wonderful effect.

Will you remember me very kindly to Lady Macdonald. Is she ever going to fulfil her promise and pay us a visit in England?

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE.

Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.

Upon the resignation of Sir John Macdonald in November, 1873, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, was called upon to form a new administration, in which he succeeded. Shortly afterwards, Parliament was dissolved, and in the General Elections which followed, the newly formed Government carried everything before it. The Conservative forces, reduced to a pitiful remnant, were content for some sessions to remain in obscurity. I once asked Sir John why the Opposition, during the sessions of 1874 and 1875, divided the House of Commons so seldom. "Because," replied he, "I saw no advantage in publishing to the world every morning that we numbered only a handful."

The Government, however, had troubles of its own. Mr. Mackenzie, though a man of capacity and integrity, was not, any more than Mr. Blake, his first lieutenant, gifted with a magnetic personality. The accession of the Liberal Government to office synchronized with the advent of a period of severe general depression extending over the whole continent, from which Canada suffered severely, and so did the Ministry. It was at this time that the Conservative Opposition began its advocacy of what was styled "The National Policy"—a system of modified protection, which it was hoped would at once stimulate the industries of the country and provide a sufficient revenue. This policy—no new one with Sir John Macdonald—was preached by him in and out of Parliament, and especially at a series of political picnics throughout Ontario during the summers of 1876 and 1877 with marvellous effect. On the 17th September, 1878, were held the General Elections which swept the Mackenzie Administration out of existence and restored Sir John Mac-

donald to power with a majority almost as large as that by which his had been overwhelmed five years previously.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

The Grange,
Toronto, 12th September, 1878.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,—

Our charitable friend George Brown to-day accuses me of supporting you with the Machiavellian intention of bringing about a fiscal conflict between Canada and the Mother Country and thus hastening Independence. If the thought should cross your mind that there can be any shadow of ground for the imputation, you may recall to your memory our last conversation in which I ventured to dissuade you from committing yourself too much in the protectionist direction.

Whatever my ideas may be as to the political destiny of Canada in the future—and you are liberal enough to believe that a man may hold honestly opinions which you think wrong—be sure that I wish to see the country well governed at present, and that I sincerely believe good government to be impossible with a narrow clique like the present in power.

The government majority will be reduced. I hardly look for more.

Yours very truly,
Goldwin Smith.

From Sir John Macdonald to Professor Goldwin Smith.

St. George Street, Toronto,
October 1, 1878.

My dear Mr. Smith,

You will, I know, have pardoned me for not acknowledging your notes before, considering the hurly-burly of the elections. Well, we have overthrown the Brown dynasty, and the country seems to breathe more freely already.

In the first place you must permit me to thank you with all my heart for your very kindly and very opportune mention of myself at Brockton. It did good service, and would have had a prodigious effect if the opportunity of making it at an earlier day had been afforded you. You must know that you are a power in the State among the educated classes, and in the long run they must win.

And now as to the subject of your note of the 1st September.

The local elections will not come off until next spring or summer—a Session will intervene, and, from the manner in which Mowat allowed himself to be mixed up in Canadian politics, i.e., Dominion politics, I fancy his Ministry must follow Mackenzie's. The rats will desert him next Session—then exit Mowat and enter M. C. Cameron. Luckily Cameron is a man above reproach, and will assemble his like about him.

Now I hope you have not said your last word as to your entering the Legislature, but that you will keep it an open question. There is, you see, no hurry about it. I quite understand that your literary work should be your first consideration, and if I thought that such work would be retarded by your attendance in the Legislature, I would be the last man to press it—but it seems to me that it would be an agreeable change from the monotony of the desk to the House of Assembly. True, these local Legislatures are but "one-horse concerns," yet you would do much good, and would help to elevate the tone of debate, now so sadly lowered. We shall, I hope, have many opportunities of discussing this subject together.

Thanks for your generous offer to aid a young aspirant to Parliamentary position, and I shall accept it in the spirit in which the offer is made. And I shall take great care that your assistance shall not be unworthily bestowed.

I had not seen the *Globe* article mentioned in yours of the 12th until I received your note.

The insinuation of the *Globe* that your support was given for the purpose of bringing about a fiscal conflict with the Mother Country is too contemptible to notice. But it is not more absurd or base than the staple of its articles during the recent contest.

I am waiting to be summoned, Lord Dufferin (*entre nous*) having told me, when here, to keep my carpet-bag ready.

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Goldwin Smith, Esq.,
The Grange.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

Cornell University,
Ithaca, N. Y., October 4th, 1878.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,

Never did I see more hearty rejoicing than there was in the streets of Toronto the morning after the event.[1] But we could not help lamenting the want of political courage which had allowed all those tongues to be so long tied by fear of the *Globe*.

You and I differ widely in our general views. You regard Canada as a part of the British Empire, I as a community of the New World; and any connection or appearance of connection with me, I know well, could only damage and embarrass you. But I do not permit my theories as to the future to blind me to the exigencies of the present. I have no doubt that it is the best thing for the country that you should be at the head of the Government, and I trust you will remain there for many years to come, and receive that general support which good government receives from every reasonable man.

Your majority is such as to place you entirely above the necessity of employing any men or using any means except such as are consistent with your own views of the public service. You received, I believe, almost the solid vote of those who care little for party and much for the country. From the Liberal wing of the Grit party many must have come over to you in Toronto. Your restoration to power may be fairly regarded as the act of the nation.

My shot at Brockton could hardly have altered a vote even if it had been fired earlier. I had to fight Blain at a disadvantage, because I was determined not to lose the only vantage ground I had by allowing myself to be drawn into a wrangle.

Your little check at Kingston[2] proves the truth of the maxim that a leader ought not to sit for a doubtful constituency. Peel always stuck to Tamworth, though all the great constituencies were at his feet.

A few days before the nomination day, a body of the working men in Toronto West, of both parties, broke away from their managers and asked me to receive a requisition. I at once declined, but the Grits were alarmed and nominated in a great hurry. I was connected politically with the working class in England, and this no doubt was the source of the movement. But depend upon it, beneath the surface, the Canadian people are beginning to think about their own interests.

Your main difficulty will be the exaggerated expectations formed in some quarters of the benefits to be derived from the National Policy, though

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[1] The General Elections of the 17th September, 1878.

[2] Sir John Macdonald in the General Elections of 1878, while triumphantly returned to power by the voice of the whole Dominion, was himself defeated (for the first and last time in his long public career of 47 years) in his old constituency of Kingston.

your own language, so far as I have seen, has been perfectly guarded. I do not doubt that the tariff is capable of useful revision. At all events, as I told Blake at the time, it was folly in the Grit Government to slam the door in people's faces. But the only measure which can materially increase the commercial prosperity of Canada is one which will give her free access to the markets and other commercial advantages of her own Continent.

As to the Local, though I will not register a vow in heaven, my mind is made up against running. The only thing that has any attraction for me in the idea is that which you would perhaps think most likely to repel me—the canvass. I should like it, because it would throw me among people from whom I am otherwise quite cut off.

The people on this side of the line begin to speak more cheerfully about their commercial prospects. The political outlook they allow to be still stormy. But they will pull through. Of their public men some are very bad, but others are about the best in the world; and though roguery and demagogism abound, good sense and virtue are strong among the mass of the people.

My wife congratulates, but mourns your departure and that of Lady Macdonald from Toronto.

Very truly yours,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

From the Rev. Gavin Lang to Sir John Macdonald.

102 St. Alexander St.,
Montreal, 15 October, 1878.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am very reluctant to trouble you at this time of your great anxiety, but my object in calling upon you this morning was to represent to you the strong feeling which exists in regard to the appointment by His Excellency and the Dominion Government, of a Thanksgiving Day for the *whole* Dominion.[1] At a meeting of representative clergymen of various churches, held yesterday, the feeling was expressed that the appointment of the same day as that observed in the United States would be both most convenient and most suitable.

As General Secretary of the Dominion Evangelical Alliance I take the liberty of addressing you in this way. I have unfortunately to leave this evening for the West, and will be away for ten days. Otherwise I would have again sought an interview to-morrow, and if I had been favoured with such an opportunity, I would have urged, in connection with the subject of a Thanksgiving Day, that the appointment of the day I have already mentioned would be conducive to the convenience of the entire

[1] The first Thanksgiving Day for the Dominion was fixed by Order-in-Council of the 9th October, 1879, which set apart Thursday the 6th November, 1879, as a day of thanksgiving for a bountiful harvest.

business community in all parts of the Continent, and be a graceful compliment to our cousins across the line. I think the American day is always the last Thursday of November—the day proclaimed by the several Provinces last year greatly interfered with the close of navigation—I think it was two weeks earlier than the other.

I write in great haste, but I thought perhaps you might wish to consult with His Excellency before he leaves. We all—clergymen of different churches—felt that, with His Excellency's known especially kindly relations with the United States, it might not be the least fitting closing act of his administration to bind that people and the Dominion in one celebration of thanksgiving.

With best wishes for the future of your Government and for yourself,

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
GAVIN LANG.[1]

Right Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, M.P.

From Governor-General the Earl of Dufferin to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Quebec, October 18th, 1878.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

We have had such intimate and confidential intercourse, and I have had such continual experience of your kindness and affectionate regard, that I cannot help desiring to leave with you some little souvenir of our friendly relations. I have therefore told them to send you two portraits of Lady Dufferin and myself, which I trust you and Lady Macdonald will kindly find a place for on your walls.

Believe me,
My dear Sir John
Yours sincerely,
DUFFERIN.

The Earl of Dufferin relinquished the Governor-Generalship of Canada on the 14th November, 1878, and was succeeded by the Marquess of Lorne.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Edward Thornton, His Majesty's Minister at Washington.

Private. *Ottawa, October 22nd, 1878.*

MY DEAR SIR EDWARD,

You will probably have learned that I am at work again here in my old position.

[1] The Reverend Gavin Lang, M.A., a noted Presbyterian divine. Was Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, from 1870 till 1882, when he returned to Scotland.

The fishery award will, we hope, be shortly paid by the U. S. Government, and we are desirous, if possible, that it shall be paid here instead of in England. It seems absurd to have the amount cross the Atlantic twice.

In the present state of the exchanges with England Canada would lose a very considerable sum which might as well be saved her. I enclose you a copy of an Order-in-Council, which has been transmitted to the Colonial Office. But meanwhile it has struck me that you might in an unofficial way get a favourable response from the U. S. Government.

Believe me,
My dear Sir Edward,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Edward Thornton, K.C.B.
H. B. M. Minister,
Washington, D. C.

On the 2nd March, 1878, M. Luc Letellier de St Just, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, summarily dismissed the ministry of the Hon. C. B. de Boucherville, which at the time possessed the confidence of a large majority in both branches of the Legislature. M. Letellier had been a member of Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet, and this extreme step on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor was generally regarded by the Conservatives as having been prompted by a desire to assist his political friends at Ottawa in the General Elections then impending.

The question, in due course, came before Parliament. In the House of Commons a motion, offered by Sir John Macdonald condemnatory of the Lieutenant-Governor's action in dismissing his Ministers, was defeated by a party vote, a similar resolution being carried in the Senate. Upon the accession of the Conservatives to power a few months later, one of the first problems with which the new Government found itself called upon to deal was the Letellier matter. The feeling among the French Canadian Conservatives, as may be judged from M. Chapleau's letter below, was extraordinarily bitter, and nothing short of M. Letellier's head on a charger would satisfy their vengeance.

At an early day after the meeting of the first session of the

new Parliament in 1879, a motion censuring the Lieutenant-Governor's course, couched in the same terms as that proposed by Sir John Macdonald in the late Parliament, was carried in the Commons by a vote of very nearly two-thirds of the whole House. Shortly after the passage of this resolution, Sir John Macdonald waited upon the Governor-General, representing to him that after the resolution of the Senate in the last Parliament, and the resolution of the House of Commons just referred to, it was the opinion of His Excellency's advisers that the usefulness of M. Letellier as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec was gone, and they advised that in the public interest it was expedient that he be removed from office. Lord Lorne, unfamiliar with our federal system, and in the absence of any precedent to guide him, hesitated to act on this advice, until he had taken counsel of Her Majesty's Government to whom, with the assent of the Ministers, the question was referred.

In June M. Langevin proceeded to England in company with Mr. J. J. C. Abbott to represent the case to the Imperial authorities. As very generally expected, the matter was referred back to the Governor-General, with instructions to follow the advice of his Ministers. Their view of the gravity of the Lieutenant-Governor's offence against constitutional government remained unchanged, and on the 25th July, 1879, by an order of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, M. Letellier was removed from the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec on the grounds that his usefulness, as such, was gone.

I do not remember having heard Sir John Macdonald dwell at any length upon the Letellier case. The action of the Governor-General in referring the matter home, rendered it incumbent upon his advisers to stick to their guns, if for no other purpose than to uphold the well-understood principles of responsible government, under which the people of Canada possess complete control of their domestic affairs. The 59th section of the British North America Act, 1867, contemplates the removal from office of a Lieutenant-Governor by the Governor-General, going to the length of laying down the procedure to be followed in such a contingency. The reference to England should not have been made, and Macdonald's acquiescence therein was due, in part, to his con-

sideration for the youth and inexperience of the Governor-General, whose official career would in all probability have been brought to an untimely close, had he persisted in declining to act on the advice of Ministers supported by a majority of two-thirds, in a Parliament fresh from the people. It seemed to me in after years that Lord Lorne understood and appreciated Sir John's course throughout this affair, which caused no interruption in their personal relations.

As regards the narrower issue, my impression is that while Sir John Macdonald thought that M. Letellier, by his arbitrary and high-handed action in turning out his Ministers, deserved dismissal himself, the refusal of the House of Commons in existence at the time of the commission of the offence, to condemn it, might have furnished an excuse, if not a reason, for allowing the matter to drop, with perhaps a censure and a warning. Such lenity would have been consonant with Sir John's natural disposition, for he was not vindictive. But his French supporters were clamorous for revenge, and there being really no extenuating circumstances surrounding the actual commission of the wrong, he judged it expedient, to allow justice to be done, while his personal inclination might rather have favoured a less drastic course. For I have observed that Sir John Macdonald never seemed enthusiastic over the Letellier affair. In his only written reference thereto that I have met with, he dismisses the subject in five words—"the result has been satisfactory," and his "satisfaction" in this case in all probability related to the vindication of Canada's right to regulate her own affairs, rather than to his victory over the offending Lieutenant-Governor, whose removal he regarded as a disagreeable necessity.

From the Hon. J. A. Chapleau[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Montréal, 2 Décembre, 1878.

Mon cher Sir John,

Mes amis de la Province de Québec m'ont prié de vous adresser aujourd'hui leur protestation solennelle contre le crime politique commis le 2 mars

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Joseph Adolphe Chapleau, K.C.M.G., Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec, (1879–1882); sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Secretary of State of Canada, 29th July, 1882; Minister of Customs, January to December, 1892; Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec (1892–1898). Died, 13th June, 1898.

dernier par l'Officier fédéral qui se trouve depuis deux ans à la tête du Gouvernement de Québec.

Ce document n'a pas besoin de commentaires; je le considère comme une sorte de *Grande Charte* signée par les *barons* de la province, et j'ai la confiance la plus entière que les vœux exprimés dans cette protestation seront réalisés.

Comme j'avais l'honneur de vous le dire ici, l'autre jour, le sentiment le plus intense existe dans toute la province au sujet de cette question. On est tellement convaincu qu'une promesse d'intervention de l'autorité fédérale devait se présumer des actes et des déclarations des chefs du parti que l'indifférence ou l'inaction du conseil privé serait interprétée comme une reculade politique difficile à concilier avec le courage reconnu du premier-ministre actuel de la Puissance.

Le temps serait mal choisi pour apprendre à la Province de Québec que le lieutenant-gouverneur qui lui est périodiquement imposé par les autorités fédérales, est sûr de l'impunité tant qu'il ne dérange pas d'une manière absolue et directe, les opérations politiques du cabinet fédéral, et que l'autonomie politique de la province est à sa merci, sans crainte de censure pour l'acte qui la viole, pourvu que l'officier fédéral réussisse *ensuite* à s'acheter un semblant de majorité dans la chambre d'assemblée.

Vous voyez *trente-sept* denous déjà signés sur ce document; vous connaissez l'opinion de McGreevy; vous pouvez présumer celle de Robitaille, de Cimon et de Grandbois (de Témiscouata); vous recevrez dans un jour ou deux l'opinion de Brooks, et vous avez connu le vote de Colby. Ajoutez vos quatre collègues de la Province de Québec, et vousa vez les *quarante sept* députés conservateurs qui vous supportent dans notre Province.

En terminant, je vous prie de croire que tous nous avons l'espoir que vous trouverez malgré les difficultés qui peuvent se susciter sur votre passage, le moyen de rendre à notre demande la justice qu'elle mérite, et, si ce devoir vous paraît difficile ou pénible, soyez convaincu que vous nous trouverez tous autour de vous, prêts à vous approuver, à vous appuyer et à vous défendre.

Veuillez recevoir l'expression de mon plus entier dévouement, et me croire avec haute considération

Votre très humble serviteur,
J. A. Chapleau.

From Sir John Macdonald to Major de Winton.[1]

Ottawa, 7th January, 1879.

Dear De Winton,

I quite agree with you that it is well to have all matters of precedence fully settled. The Order-in-Council which you quote, governs the position of all chief officers, as you

[1] Afterwards Lt. Colonel Sir Francis W. de Winton K.C.M.G., 10th Brigade, Royal Artillery. Secretary and Military Secretary to the Marquess of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada (1878–1883).

say. The position of the chief justices, and the judges of the Supreme Court is settled by a recent despatch from England. You will find it in the Canada *Gazette* of 28th December last. They may be numbered $9\frac{1}{2}$, coming between the Speaker of the Senate and the chief judges of the Courts of Law and Equity, No. 10. We think that the junior or Deputy heads of Departments should be considered as of equal standing, and should rank among themselves according to the dates of their respective commissions as deputy heads. These officers will be according to your list—Clerk of the Privy Council, Clerk of the Senate, Clerk of the Commons, Governor-General's Secretary, Deputy Ministers of Militia, Finance, Inland Revenue, Customs, Interior, Public Works, Post Office Department, Agriculture and Marine and Fisheries, the Under-Secretary of State and the Auditor General. The Sergeant-at-Arms and Black Rod are inferior to those I have mentioned, and they should, I think, rank with the chief clerks of the different Departments.

While on this subject I may as well mention that in publishing a programme for the levee which His Excellency will doubtless hold early in the session, a place should be especially assigned to those Privy Councillors who are not members of the Cabinet. In the Order-in-Council you will see that they rank after the chief judges of the various courts. A good deal of feeling was exhibited from inattention to this matter at the last levee held here by Lord Dufferin.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Major de Winton
Governor-General's Secretary.

From Mr. Justice Ritchie[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Ottawa, 11th January, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I cannot allow a moment to elapse before returning you my grateful thanks for the very high honour you have been the means of conferring on me, and all the more highly prized by me as having been your own spontaneous act. I do hope and pray, my dear Sir John, that I may be

[1] Afterwards Sir William Johnston Ritchie, Kt. This letter is in acknowledgment of his appointment to the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of Canada, which office Sir William held until his death on the 25th September, 1892.

enabled so to fill the office that you will never have cause to regret what you have done. Rest well assured that I shall honestly try to discharge the duties in such a way as not to bring discredit on your recommendation.

Believe me to be,
My dear Sir John
Very faithfully yours,
W. J. Ritchie.

Sir John Macdonald,
&c., &c., &c.

Memorandum addressed by Sir John Macdonald to His Excellency the Governor-General on the subject of Honours.

Private. *Ottawa, 10th February, 1879.*

The undersigned thinks it well to call the attention of Your Excellency[1] to the uncertain manner in which honours have been conferred upon the judges of the Superior Courts of the Dominion. These honours seem to have been conferred under no principle, and were apparently given at the suggestion of the Governor of the day, and probably at the request of the judges themselves. To show how unequally the practice has worked, the undersigned would mention that for a long time past no judge in Ontario, the wealthiest and most populous province of the Dominion, has been honoured by knighthood, and, until lately, the same thing could be said of the Province of Quebec, where, however, the chief justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, Sir Aimé Dorion, was so honoured, while chief justices in the smaller provinces of Nova Scotia, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island have been knighted. It seems to the undersigned that some rule should be adopted, and he would venture to suggest for Your Excellency's consideration the expediency of asking Her Majesty's Government to lay down some rule applicable to all the Provinces. The practice which the undersigned would respectfully recommend for adoption would be that the following judicial persons should receive the honour of knighthood as a matter of course on their appointment:

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[1] His Excellency the Right Hon. Sir John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Marquess of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G., Governor-General of Canada (1878–1883); afterwards, 9th Duke of Argyll. Died, 2nd May, 1914.

1st. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada.
2nd. The Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal of Ontario.
3rd. The Chancellor of Ontario.
4th. The Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench of Ontario.
5th. The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas of Ontario.
6th. The Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in Quebec.
7th. The Chief Justice of the Superior Court, Quebec.
8th. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.
9th. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick.

The undersigned further recommends that the chief justices of the smaller provinces, namely Prince Edward Island, British Columbia and Manitoba, should not receive the honour as a matter of course on appointment, but that it should be the reward of some length of distinguished service. The undersigned also recommends that the rule be applied to the present judges who have not already received the honour.

All of which is respectfully submitted:

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Private Memorandum addressed by Sir John Macdonald to Governor General His Excellency the Marquess of Lorne, respecting the grant of Honours by Her Majesty in Canada.

The conferring of honours and decorations on public men in Canada for political service is of comparatively recent date, and it has, until lately, been considered that such honours were to be given for service in some way connected with Imperial interests, and always without reference to the Colonial Administration of the day. In my opinion it is to be regretted that the practice has not been adhered to.

Messrs. Draper and Baldwin were, shortly after the Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, made Companions of the Bath. They were leading statesmen and had had much to do with the union of the Provinces, a subject in which the Imperial Government had taken the greatest

interest and had sent the late Lord Sydenham with special instructions to carry out.

Subsequently Chief Justices Robinson of Upper Canada and Lafontaine of Lower Canada were made Baronets, after their elevation to the Bench and retirement from political life.

In 1860, on the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales as the representative of Her Majesty, the Speakers of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, Sir Narcisse Belleau and Sir Henry Smith, were knighted by him. His Royal Highness had been specially empowered by the Queen to create Knights Bachelor, but after his arrival it was thought better that he should not exercise the power with respect to any public men in Canada, but confer knighthood only on the two Speakers of the Parliament which had extended the invitation to him to visit Canada. On this subject I was consulted by the Duke of Newcastle, the Colonial Minister who accompanied the Prince of Wales, and the Governor-General Sir Edmund Head, and strongly advised this limitation of knighthoods.

No honours were given after that period until the 1st July, 1867, the day on which the present confederation of the four provinces was consummated. On that day Lord Monck informed me that I had been made a K.C.B., and that Messrs Cartier, Galt, Tilley, Tupper, Howland and McDougall had been created C.B's in order to mark that important political event. No previous intimation had been given to any of us of Her Majesty's intention. Messrs. Cartier and Galt, considering the recognition of their services as inadequate, declined to receive the decoration. Considerable feeling was aroused in Lower Canada among the French Canadians at what was looked upon as a slight to the representative man of their race, and a motion on the subject was made in Parliament. Lord Monck refused to give any information on the subject as being one of Imperial concern only; but, in order to allay this feeling, obtained permission from Her Majesty's Government to offer Cartier a baronetcy if I did not object to it. I, of course, at once stated that I should be only too glad to see my colleague receive the honour. Mr. Galt was made a K.C.M.G. All these honours were conferred upon myself and the other

gentlemen on account of the prominent part we had taken in carrying out the Imperial policy of Confederation, and without reference to us.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Langevin was made a C.B. at the express instance of Lord Monck, who was aware that Mr. Langevin had undeservedly received a reproof from Lord Carnarvon as Colonial Secretary in a matter in which he was in no way censurable.

The Island of Prince Edward was united to the Dominion during the administration of Lord Lisgar, and to commemorate that event His Excellency informed me that he intended to recommend several gentlemen to the Colonial Minister for the order of St. Michael and St. George. He did me the honour of consulting with me as to the persons to be selected. He shortly afterwards resigned and returned to England, and on the 16th July, 1872, wrote me as follows:–

"I made the following recommendations as to the order of St. Michael and St. George—Sir F. Hincks to be promoted to be a G.C.M.G.—For K.C.M.G.: Cartier, Campbell, Tupper, Tilley, Draper, Chief Justice. For C.M.G.: Archibald and Bernard. Hincks, Cartier, Archibald and Bernard will be accepted I think at once or after the general elections; Campbell, Tupper and Tilley in a short time thereafter. Lord Kimberley will write to Lord Dufferin about these matters by this mail."

This information was not communicated to Sir Francis Hincks, as he had left the Government and retired from political life:[1] but it was mentioned by me to Cartier, Campbell, Tupper and Tilley. Mr. Archibald, the present Lieut Governor was made C.M.G. for his services as Governo in the North West during the insurrection there, and Ber nard also received the order, principally, I believe, on the solicitation of Lords Monck, Lisgar and Dufferin for his services as Provincial A.D.C. Cartier is dead; but Campbell, Tupper and Tilley are all now members of the Government, and after receiving the intimation, have naturally been expecting their stars. I would again say that these gentlemen were not selected by me, but by Lord Lisgar, I however concurring in the reasons which induced him to choose them. Campbell had been the Leader of the Govern-

[1] There is a seeming inaccuracy here. Sir Francis Hincks did not retire from the Government of Sir John Macdonald until the 21st February, 1873.

ment in the Senate, and Tupper and Tilley had been the First Ministers of their respective provinces at the time Confederation was carried in their Legislatures. Since the appointment of Archibald and Bernard, no honours have been conferred that I am aware of, except on Sir Alexander Galt, who was made a G.C.M.G. for his services as British Commissioner in the fishery arbitration, and on Sir Albert Smith as Minister of Marine and Fisheries on the same occasion. A few days before Lord Dufferin's departure for England, and after I had undertaken the duty of forming an administration, he told me that Mr. Mackenzie had made some recommendations, upon which I reminded him of the intimations made to Campbell, Tupper and Tilley, and he stated he would ask that the promise made should be carried out. He remarked, however, that no French-Canadian was included among them, and asked me to name one. I thereupon suggested Sir Narcisse Belleau who had been the Premier of the Province of Canada up to the 1st July, 1867, when he was made the first Lieut. Governor of Quebec under the new constitution. I really think that the three gentlemen first named will have cause to feel aggrieved if they are passed over; and the importance of not omitting Sir Narcisse Belleau's name under the circumstances must be obvious.

I have no remarks to make as to the recommendations made by Mr. Mackenzie. * * * In conclusion I beg to say that I hope the practice of conferring honours will not degenerate into a matter of course, and a number of honours be bestowed upon each change of ministers. In our new country many men enter political life who although good men in themselves, and capable of administering public affairs, are from want of early education and manner, as well as of social position—not qualified for honorary distinction at the hands of the Sovereign. In such cases there is danger of a degree of ridicule attaching to the persons honoured, which may extend to the honour itself, and impair its value in public estimation; and this danger will be increased when (as must not infrequently happen) the disadvantages of want of education and manner are shared by the wife with her husband.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Ottawa, 6th March, 1879.

From Sir Edward Thornton to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

British Legation,
Washington,
March 14, 1879.

My dear Sir John,

I think that Mr. Mills[1] has rather misquoted me. It is some years since I had the conversation with him to which he alludes. To the best of my recollection I said that I did not remember that the Convention between Great Britain and Russia of 1825 had been referred to during the negotiation of the Treaty of 1871 with the United States. As I am not omniscient I could hardly have said that the Commissioners were ignorant of its existence, because they made no allusion to it in my presence.

I quite agree with you that neither Mr. Mills nor any one else has a right to quote in that way what I may say in a private conversation, and with him, at least, I am afraid that my mouth must be sealed for the future.

Believe me,
Very truly yours,
Edward Thornton.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

Government House,
Ottawa.
April 4, 1879.

Dear Sir John,

With reference to remarks made in the House last night, and language used to-day in the Provinces, [*sic*] I see an impression is abroad that my action in referring the Letellier matter to the Imperial Govt. is against advice given by my Ministers. In case of further notice being taken of the matter in the House, I must request that any statement made to the effect that the reference home has been made against the advice of Ministers, be denied.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
Lorne.

The Rt. Honble. Sir John Macdonald.

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[1] The Hon. David Mills represented Bothwell in the House of Commons (with the exception of one session) from 1867 to 1896; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of the Interior in the administration of Mr. Mackenzie, 24th October, 1876; called to the Senate, 13th November, 1896; Minister of Justice in the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 1897 to 1902; Puisne judge of the Supreme Court, 1902. Died, 8th May, 1903. For the particular circumstances referred to in this letter of Sir Edward Thornton, see *Debates of the House of Commons of Canada*, 10th March, 1879, Vol. I. p. 232. See also this volume, *ante*. p. 146, note.

About this time the yellow press of the United States published sensational stories of dissensions between the Governor-General and his Prime Minister, to which the difference over the Letellier affair lent an air of verisimilitude. Some of the more imaginative of the newspaper correspondents at the Capital, not content with representing the Governor-General as at variance with his Premier over questions of public policy, had the effrontery to introduce into the controversy the names of the Princess Louise and of Lady Macdonald, falsely representing that Her Royal Highness had resented some alleged lack of respect shown to her by the Premier's[1] wife. All this was pure invention, and was so characterized by the Governor-General, whose regard for Sir John Macdonald never seems to have been dimmed by a passing cloud.

From the Marquess of Lorne to Sir John Macdonald.

Govt. House,
8 April, 1879.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

Certainly, if it is worth while to contradict such reports. There is no foundation whatever for the statements made.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
LORNE.

From the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott to Sir John Macdonald.

London, 24th April, 1879.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

Langevin has written you fully about our sayings and doings here, so I shall not trouble you with them. He has not exactly hit off the conversation I had with McNeil[2], though he gives you the substance of it. Propositions A. B. & C., were a little different, being a sort of summary by him of the way he understood my informal and unofficial suggestion as to the way the matter might be treated by the Government here without wound-

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[1] See the Princess Louise's letter to Sir John Macdonald dated 25th January, 1883, together with Sir John's reply, pages 296-7 of this volume.

[2] Probably Major General Sir John Carstairs M'Neill, V.C., K.C.B., who, as Colonel M'Neill, was in Canada (1879–1880) in attendance on H. R. H. The Princess Louise.

ing the Marquis, and with satisfaction to the people. That is, at once to assure and recognize the general rule that the Governor must follow the advice of his Ministers. Then, to take the reference as the expression of a doubt in the Governor's mind, whether *this* case falls within that general rule; and to answer the reference by the expression of an opinion that it *does* so fall. He asked my permission to let Corry[1] know of the conversation, and of this view of the solution of the difficulty; expressing a strong opinion as to its meeting entire concurrence here—and saying that he knew Corry intimately, had been talking to Corry about the affair, and was going to Canada to-day on account of it. I consented, on condition that he explained that it was an informal conversation; and that my knowledge of him and of his position, took away the character of indiscretion from it.

I did not intend to say so much about this little matter—as I think Langevin should conduct the correspondence: and one infliction will be enough for you, at one time. But I saw that he had not seized the idea exactly, in repeating the conversation.

I have to thank you for the Order-in-Council which places me in a perfectly pleasant position; and from what I see and hear—I do not doubt that our mission will have a satisfactory result.

Very sincerely yours,
J. J. C. Abbott.

From Sir John Rose, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

18, Queen's Gate,
Hyde Park,
16th May, 79.

Confidential

Dear Macdonald,

I have not written to you since we exchanged cables on the subject of the Letellier affair. I went as far as I could venture to go, in more quarters than one, in saying how important I considered that it should be settled, and settled promptly. I had hoped it would have been done before this, but I think they are giving a good deal of care to the preparation of the despatch, so as not to imply any *censure* (but rather the reverse) on the question being referred home; and at the same time to let it be understood, that on this, and all kindred matters, no interference will be thought of here. They wish also to pay a compliment to the way in which Canada has hitherto worked the new Constitution, and on the whole I think no one will have cause to complain of the way in which the reference will be dealt with.

I have said nothing to Langevin about having heard from you—not knowing whether you wished me to do so or not.

I am urging that some communication should be made *to him*, at as early a day as possible, as he is impatient to leave, and I think that in the

[1] Montagu Corry, afterwards Lord Rowton, Private Secretary to Lord Beaconsfield, in 1879 Prime Minister of England.

beginning of the week it will be done. Joly[1] is asking a reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and this course finds a good many advocates *outside the* ——*.

You will, I have little doubt, learn the result before this reaches you, and I won't therefore trouble you with a longer letter.

Believe me,
Ever very sincerely yours,
JOHN ROSE.

The Right Honourable
Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

The Grange.
Toronto, June 7th, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

There was no use in calling on you before the election,[2] when you were sure to be beset by a throng of visitors on business; and when I called after the election, I found you were gone.

The discrepancy between the result of the Local and that of the Dominion election, though startling, is not unaccountable. In the Dominion election there was the National Policy, and there was your name. But, as I told you before, the new leaders of the Opposition in the Local Parliament had failed personally to make an impression, and they tendered no definite issue. The charge of extravagance was general and was over done. There was nothing to fight on but the Dominion issue of the N.P.; and this, even while I was trying to present it as well as I could, I felt was not likely to be effective in a local conflict.

The education policy of the Government, would I think, if handled from the right point of view, have furnished a good issue; but this is a special subject which hardly any one has had occasion to master.

We are in for four years more of the Grit régime, with all its pharisaic and insolent intolerance. It is a comfort to think that it does not extend to the Dominion.

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[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Henri Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, K.C.M.G.; member of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada for the county of Lotbinière from 1861 until the Union, and from 1867 to 1874 sat for the same constituency in the House of Commons of Canada. On the dismissal of M. de Boucherville by M. Letellier, Mr. Joly was called upon to form a Government and was M. Letellier's chief adviser at the date of Sir John Rose's letter; remained Premier of Quebec until the 30th October, 1879, when his ministry was defeated; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Inland Revenue 30th June, 1897; held this office till 21st June, 1900, when appointed Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, which he held until the 11th May, 1906. Died, 16th November, 1908.

*Word indecipherable.

[2] This refers to the Provincial General Elections held in Ontario on the 5th June, 1879, at which, contrary to expectations founded on the rout of the Mackenzie administration in the preceding September, the Mowat Government was handsomely sustained.

I may possibly be in Ottawa soon, to use the library; but you will most likely have departed for England. If your mission has reference to the Letellier case, I wish you success. I hold, and avow with the indiscretion which is the appanage of a student, the opinion that the political bond must in the end be severed, and that any policy founded on the opposite hypothesis is a house built on sand; but I do not want to see the moral union imperilled by any political disputes, and it is partly because the political bond tends to generate such disputes, that I would willingly see it terminated by mutual consent.

You will find the tide of Imperialistic feeling ebbing fast, and England little in the mood to make great sacrifices for the incorporation of British Columbia.

Very truly yours,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

The Right Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

Toronto, July 5, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

The course of the Opposition here is pretty clearly traced by circumstances, if they were at liberty to pursue it. The feeling against Roman Catholic domination is strong, and would, I have little doubt, respond to an appeal either on the question of ecclesiastical exemptions or on that of the administration of the Separate Schools. But then there is Quebec. First and above all things, however, it is necessary to reinforce the lead in the House. Without this, everybody says, nothing can be done. Mowat and his colleagues are respectable, and though not strong, decently competent; and the people will not consent to a change unless they see that it would place their local affairs in at least as good hands.

You are waiting, I suppose, for the Letellier decision. Like Mr. Weller, who kept repeating that there was nothing like an alibi, I keep repeating that the best course would have been to make it a legal question, and hang it up with the wigs safe out of the way. It would be miserable if, at such a moment, our real interests were imperilled by a question about a puppet.

You need hardly go to England for money for any *commercial* purpose. There is a good deal here seeking safe investment, if you would put the national debt within the reach of the people.

Yours very truly,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

From the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal, July 22nd, 1879.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have not formally reported myself after my mission, leaving it to Langevin to give you all the information about it that you might desire to have, which he has no doubt done. I only hope you approve of our doings

and are satisfied with the result, which to my mind seems all we could wish.

I think it right also to mention to you that our friend Langevin has a feeling that neither he, nor our Province was sufficiently considered in the honours recently conferred in England. He is an old C.B., and since he obtained that distinction has been an active and prominent politician. And he and many others (including yourself very probably) find difficulty in seeing why Belleau should have got a step—and Langevin should be left out. I am sure he will be very chary of saying anything about the matter, but I think you should know about it yourself. And I doubt if many Lower Canadians take Belleau's honours very gratefully, to say nothing of our getting *one* Knight, to *four* in Ontario.

I hear you leave for England on Saturday and hope you may have a pleasant trip. Rumour says Galt goes with you, and he is a capital companion; though I have just been told by two of our French Canadian friends that he goes to Spencer Wood; and they did not exactly compliment the Government on the choice. I ventured to tell them that the Christian virtues, as practised, would scarcely carry it so far as that. We found Batt's hotel very quiet and comfortable, and Bernard made a complete inspection of it for your benefit. The Alexandra—is both uncomfortable and dear.

Pray remember me to Lady Macdonald, and believe me,

Dear Sir John,

Very sincerely yours,

J. J. C. Abbott.

The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,
&c., &c.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott.

Private. *Ottawa, 23rd July, 1879.*

My dear Abbott,

Thanks for yours of the 22nd. You did all that could be done in the Letellier matter. The result has been satisfactory. I fancy Robitaille will go to Spencer Wood.

As to the matter of honours, I would like you to understand the exact position. I have always held that such things should be conferred for Imperial services only, and without reference to the Colonial administration. I have never asked for honours for anyone, but, when consulted, gave my best advice. The appointment of Campbell, Tupper, and Tilley, to be K.C.M.G.'s was not on my suggestion but on Lord Lisgar's. He was very proud of having completed the Union of all the Provinces in the Dominion, by the accession of Prince Edward Island. He got his peerage on

that account, and he thought it a fitting time to mark the event by some honours being given. He suggested Campbell, and very properly, as one of the first, because he had been the leader of the Legislative Council which carried the Quebec Resolutions, and was later leader of the Senate since Confederation, and no honour had been given to any member of that body. Then he suggested, and I approved of his suggestion, that Tupper and Tilley, who had both been premiers in their respective provinces, and as such had secured their consent to the Union, should also be remembered. When he went home to England he was authorized by Lord Kimberley to write me stating that these gentlemen would be appointed, and this I communicated to them. Shortly after that, and before the matter could be completed, the Gladstone administration went out, and afterwards we went out. When I undertook the formation of the present Government, Lord Dufferin mentioned to me that Mr. Mackenzie had made certain recommendations which he had sent to England. He did not tell me the names, as that was a confidence between himself and his former ministers, and of course, as to that recommendation, I had nothing to say. I however reminded him of the fact that there was a promise given by the Home Government to these three gentlemen, and that they had a right to claim it. He admitted this, and said he would mention the facts to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. He however said that in all the recommendations, either from Mr. Mackenzie or myself, there was no French Canadian name, and asked me to select some one. Now this was rather a delicate business. Langevin got the C.B. for his services in Confederation, and there was nothing specially to entitle him to a second honour for the same thing. He had never been at the head of the Government, and had always occupied a subordinate position, as he does still. Besides, when we were in opposition, he was out of the House, and declined to run in 1874. Mr. Masson[1] was then leader of the French, which position he still continues to hold. Now, Masson had no claims to the

[1] The Hon. L. F. R. Masson, M.P. for Terrebonne, P.Q. (1867–1882); sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Militia and Defence in Sir John Macdonald's Cabinet, 19th October, 1878; a Senator of Canada (1882-1884 and 1890–1903); Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec (1884–1887). Died, 8th November, 1903.

honour, and yet it was impossible to give Langevin the *pas*. Langevin does not enjoy the confidence of his countrymen, very unjustly, I think, as he is the ablest of them. It therefore occurred to me that Belleau[1] was the most available man. He was the premier at the time that the Quebec Resolutions and Confederation were carried. Both George Brown and myself had served under him. On the first July he had a fair claim to be sent for by Lord Monck to form the first Dominion Ministry, but His Excellency sent for me instead, and Belleau at once abandoned all pretensions and was made Lieut. Governor of Quebec.

Galt will probably go to England with me or after me, and will be employed, as before, by the Government in the expected negotiations with France and Spain for Commerical treaties.

Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. J. J. C. Abbott,
Montreal.

In the summer of 1879 Sir John Macdonald visited England, partly in furtherance of his Pacific Railway scheme, and partly in order to be sworn as an Imperial Privy Councillor, to which position he had been appointed seven years previously. While there he was the recipient of much attention at the hands of leading public men.

From Sir John Rose, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Bartholomew Lane, E.C.,
Wednesday, 7th August, 1879.

DEAR MACDONALD.

Your party tomorrow will consist of:
W. H. Smith[2]—whom you know all about.
Bouverie.
Herbert—of the C.O.
Forster—W.H.
Birch—Governor of the Bank of England.
Childers.
The Spanish Minister—for Galt's benefit.

[1] Sir Narcisse Belleau, Kt.

[2] Then First Lord of the Admiralty in the Cabinet of Lord Beaconsfield.

Goschen.
Playfair—for Tupper's.
If they can possibly leave the House,
Sir S. Northcote
Lord F. Cavendish.

I have also asked Lord Monck, who I believe is to be in town. It is entirely a scratch affair, but the best that could be done at this season.

If I can be of any use whatever to you or Sir C. Tupper in supporting any scheme likely to be acceptable, from a market point of view, for the Pacific Railway, pray command me. I have already given Tilley and S. Fleming some hints, but would be glad to elaborate them—either for present or future use. Of course, if you get any Imperial guarantee, there would be no difficulty, but otherwise it will require very delicate manipulation so as not to weigh down the general credit.

I must be away the greater part of next week—will be glad to do anything that requires to be done before I go, but I will come back if at all necessary, with great pleasure.

I remain as ever,
Sincerely yours,
J. Rose.

¼ to 8 sharp to-morrow on account of the House.

From Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.
[*undated.*]

Dear Sir John,

I am very sorry to find that you have an engagement for Saturday.

We are, as you know, very near the end of our Parliamentary session: and what with business in the House of Commons, and other engagements, I fear that Saturday the 9th is the only day on which I could hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at dinner before we all leave town for the recess. Therefore, hearing some days ago that you were expected to arrive on the 4th, I asked some friends specially to meet you on that evening, never thinking that I should be so unfortunate as to find you already engaged. Among them are the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who are, I know, both particularly anxious to meet you, and who will hardly be able to obtain another opportunity of doing so before leaving town.

I do not like, on any occasion, to suggest that any one should break an engagement on my account, but I hope I am not doing wrong in thus putting the state of the case before you—in case your friends, under the circumstances, should be able to release you.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. E. Hicks-Beach.

From Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

10 Downing Street,
Whitehall,
August 9, 1879.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am very glad to find that I shall have the pleasure of your company on Saturday, and remain,

Yours faithfully,
M. E. HICKS-BEACH.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart.

Batt's Hotel, Dover Street,
August 25th, 1879.

DEAR SIR MICHAEL,

I send you three memoranda from my colleagues and myself—

1st. On the Canadian tariff and the trade relations of the Dominion with Great Britain.

2nd. On the status we desire to be given to Canada's representative in London.

3rd. On the Pacific Railway scheme.

The two first are necessarily confidential and are so marked—the third will, I suppose, be also so considered until the correspondence is in a position to be laid before Parliament here and in Canada.

For convenience of perusal I send also printed copies of the memoranda, and if you desire it, can send you for distribution among the members of the Cabinet, additional printed copies.

I avail myself of your kind offer to see me on Canadian affairs, and shall wait upon you at any time you may appoint.

Believe me,
Dear Sir Michael,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart.,
4 Portman Square.

From Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

4, Portman Square. W.
August 31/79.

Dear Sir John,

When you called here the other day, you mentioned some points on which I requested you to move Lord Lorne to write officially to me; and this you undertook to do. I omitted to note them down at the time—may I ask you to let me know which they were? as we discussed a good many topics, great and small, and I am not quite sure on which, out of all of them, I may expect to hear officially as I suggested. I should like to be certain of this, that arrangements may be made for dealing promptly with the letters when they arrive.

I shall be glad to see you again before you leave for Canada, if you could call on me any day, at 12.30 p.m. that may suit you. When the Letellier case was referred home, and it was my duty to look up precedents in the matter, it occurred to me that it might be worth consideration whether the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, strengthened by colonial lawyers, might not advantageously be made to fill something like the position which the supreme Court of the U.S. occupies in interpreting the Constitution. You have doubtless considered this long ago; but I should like to have some talk with you about it.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
M. Hicks-Beach.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

The Grange,
Toronto, Oct. 3rd, 1879.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,

My wife is writing to Lady Macdonald to suggest that if you want repose, she should bring you to our quiet abode. I second the motion.

Your occasional presence here would be useful to your friends. The Grits are rapidly getting back Ontario into their hands, and having Ontario, they will get back the Dominion. They are socially powerful and active; they have several houses here which serve them as centres of propagandism, while Meredith is at London, and Morris seems very retired.

I wish you had given effect to your idea of saying something about the Ontario legislation of last session. Morally, there is all the difference in the world between the case of a Parliament which abstains from sitting before all its members have been returned, and that of one which having come to the end of its term, finds, or thinks it finds, that it can steal another session by raising a quibble about the period of its commencement. This might have been pointed out, even if the legal arguments were in

Mowat's favour. The slightest doubt was enough to render his action culpable.

If you come to us, you will enjoy a complete immunity from politics within our gates, unless you like to give me a little information about the political history of Canada, which may some day employ my pen.

Very truly yours,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

The Right Honourable
Sir John A. Macdonald, M.P.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

The Grange,
Toronto, Nov. 2, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

There was one point on which I did not like to touch when you were here. You may possibly have seen the malicious message which has been going the round of the Grit papers about my expectation of "reward from the Tory party." If you have, pray dismiss it from your mind, and do not allow it to cast any shadow on our intercourse.

I am philosophic enough to know that my present position is in every way the best for me. Political life in any form I have certainly renounced. I should be very glad, as I once told you, to give a little help to any young man of promise who was starting in public life and to have the pleasure of watching his career. But for myself, I remain as I am.

If you ever come here to repose, you may feel assured that the petty annoyances of a Minister's life, at all events, will cease to follow you when you cross my threshold.

Do not put yourself to the trouble of answering this. Your next letter, I hope, will be one to say that you are coming to us, and Lady Macdonald with you.

Very truly yours,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

The Right Hon.
Sir John Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to John M. Robinson, Esq.

Ottawa, 5th Nov., 1879.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st instant on the subject of patronage in your province. It is a principle long settled in Canada that the British and not the American system should prevail as to office, and that a man once appointed should not be removed on account of his political proclivities so long as he performs the duties of

his office, and does not use his position or influence ostentatiously against the Government of the day. It is but right that each party as they get possession of the Government, should appoint their friends. The present Government is doing so, and cannot object to its predecessor having done the same thing. Whenever vacancies occur in Prince Edward Island, as a matter of course, our political friends will get the preference.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

John M. Robinson, Esq.,
Pownall, P.E.I.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

The Grange
Toronto, Dec. 30, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD.

If this division of Toronto[1] is to be vacant, as gossip says, I think you had better consider the expediency of taking it yourself.

It is not clear that any of your friends will be sure of being elected; but you could.

You know there would be a home in which you and Lady Macdonald would always be welcome, and where you could see your people.

I hope we should not allow the election to put you to any expense.

Very truly yours,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

P.S. I wish somebody would either take away Sir Francis Hincks' tongue, or give him back his brains. He has been telling a correspondent of the New York *Herald* a pack of nonsense about me in connection with a meeting in which he supposes I took part, but which I declined to attend.

From Sir John Macdonald to A. Watts, Esq.

Private. *Ottawa, 26th February, 1880.*

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 17th instant on the subject of patronage generally, and I think I may as well give you my idea of the way such matters stand. By constitutional

[1] West Toronto, at that time represented in the House of Commons by the Hon. J. B. Robinson, who vacated his seat on acceptance of the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, 30th June, 1880.

practice, appointments are vested in the Crown, and the whole responsibility of appointments rests with the ministry of the day. For their appointments they are responsible, in the first place to the Crown, and in the second place to Parliament; but they are not responsible to any constituency for their action. It is usual in case of local appointments, for the ministry to consult the member representing the constituency in which the vacancy occurs, if he is a ministerial supporter. If he be not, then the Government act on such information as they can procure. We have been always in the habit of consulting our leading friends in those constituencies which are so unfortunate as to be represented by Grits, but that is merely a custom, and is in no way obligatory upon us. The contrary doctrine is democratic, and must be repudiated by all Conservatives.

Now, as regards the appointments you speak of, we will take them up seriatim. * * *

I have asked my colleagues as a general rule when any vacancies take place in your Riding to consult yourself, and I have no doubt that they will do so. This is not however binding us to adopt the recommendation, whatever it may be.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

A. Watts, Esquire,
Brantford.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

The Grange,
Toronto, March 27, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

If I were not a bystander, I should have written before, to apologize for putting you to trouble by leaving my letters about. The one you were so good as to send, was from my wife; and perhaps if the contents were known, I might fall under the suspicion of leaving my letters about, like Marat, for the Emperor to read them.

We were glad to see that your illness in church proved trifling; perhaps the theological atmosphere affected you for a moment.

So far as I can judge at this distance, the chances of my Liberal friends in England rather improve. They seem to have patched up their differences. It is patching up with a vengence when they accept jingoes such

as Mr. Cowan [*sic*] and Mr. Walter as their candidates. But the special movement people—prohibitionists, anti-vaccinationists, &c., seem to be falling into line. If it is so, the Liberals will certainly gain votes—perhaps more than I should think good for them.

My correspondents, who are not Grits, report a rising feeling against the Government railway policy in the West. If you have to modify your course, Mackenzie will not be able to cast a stone at you.

I am told Mackenzie has repelled the idea of the registrarship with superb disdain. He is the smallest man in the biggest place I ever saw —hardly excepting Sir Stafford Northcote.

Harvest reports unpromising hereabouts—clover ruined, wheat in jeopardy. Unless things mend, the N.P. will be in a tight place.

The Czar of King street has had a narrow escape.[1] It does not seem that the attempt was deliberate. The man had been living in U. States and had probably contracted the habit of carrying a revolver. Brown most likely provoked him by some insolence, and the savage in his rage drew his weapon. If he had used a horsewhip, perhaps the wave of public indigation would have been less universal.

Very truly yours,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

From the Mexican Minister to Brussels[2] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Brussels, May 21, 1880.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD
&c., &c., &c.

SIR,

I take the liberty to address you upon a subject which at present attracts the attention of almost every public man in Spanish America; the attitude assumed by the Executive of the United States with regard to the proposed ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien. Imperfect extracts of your speech delivered in the Canadian Parliament the 5th instant have been sent by telegraph to Europe, but a complete transcript of your words is not likely to come to us. I beg, therefore, to be excused if I request you to be so kind as to send me any newspaper in which I may be able to read it in full. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the faculties granted by the constitution of Canada to judge the possibility of its Government to head a movement of an international character to oppose the extraordinary assumption of the American Executive. The diplomatic relations between my country and England having been in suspense for a long number of years, we have more than once considered whether any peculiar clause of the Constitution of Canada could afford an oppor-

[1] This refers to the attempted assassination of the Hon. George Brown who was shot in his office by a discharged printer on the 25th March, 1880, and died from the effects of the wound on the 9th May following.

[2] Senor A. Nuñez Ortega was Mexican Minister to Brussels at the date of this letter.

tunity to establish direct intercourse with the Dominion without the interference of the British home government. We have followed with considerable interest the development of British and local policy in that part of the American continent—specially so since the appointment of the Marquis of Lorne, but as it is only by mere chance that we get the knowledge of events in Canada, we cannot decide—though we have the perception of it—the line of conduct that at some future time may lead to a close friendship between the two countries.

Begging you to consider these lines as personal and entirely private, I have the honour to be

Your most obedient sèrvant,
A. Nuñez Ortega.

From Sir John Macdonald to Señor A. Nuñez Ortega.

Ottawa, 9th June, 1880.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 21st ultimo, on the subject of the proposed ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien. This matter has excited the attention of the Canadian Legislature and has been discussed in both Houses. The official report of the debates of the last session of the Canadian House of Commons is not yet published, but I send you in a cutting from a Canadian newspaper, the Montreal *Gazette* of the 7th May, a report of the debate, which, though imperfect, gives a general idea of what was said upon the occasion. I have no doubt that Her Majesty's Government will take the proper steps at the right time to press the right of all nations to use the Panama Canal on equal terms, subject to the payment of tolls as if it were the open sea.

I shall hold your note to be personal and entirely private.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
John A. Macdonald.

His Excellency A. Nuñez Ortega.

From Sir John Macdonald to Professor Goldwin Smith.

Ottawa, July 7, 1880.

My dear Mr. Goldwin Smith,

I am off for England on Saturday, with two of my colleagues. We have three substantial offers for the C. P. R.—

not only to build but to run it as a railway company, and to give satisfactory guarantees.

So I confidently expect to relieve the country of all uncertainty as to cost, and to retain enough land to recoup Canada for expenditure up to this time. If I succeed, I shall drop you a confidential line from England on the subject.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Smith,

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

On the 14th September, 1880, an agreement for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was signed in London by Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, J. H. Pope, and D. L. Macpherson, representing the Government of Canada, and by Messrs. Duncan McIntyre, Morton, Rose and Company, and Kohn, Reinach and Company, representing a body of capitalists, afterwards the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

The Company was to receive $25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land in alternate blocks on each side of the railway running from Winnipeg to Jasper House on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. The line was to be completed on the 1st May, 1891, the Company binding itself to deposit one million dollars security for the due performance of their undertaking. The contract was executed at Ottawa on the 21st October, 1880, and shortly afterwards Parliament was summoned in order to ratify the bargain. The arrangement as a matter of course, was stoutly opposed by the regular opposition, and although triumphantly carried through Parliament, was not altogether without critics on the Government side of the House, some of the regular supporters of the ministry privately expressing dissatisfaction with its terms.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Montreal, 27th September, 1880.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Only a line to say welcome home, and that I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in Ottawa on Wednesday. Pope spent the most of yesterday

with Angus and myself and gave us in general terms a history of the negotiations on the other side. I have also seen McIntyre and the important document (which my *friends* and my *enemies* agree in affecting to think will be the ruin of us all,) and I hope there will be no difficulty in our coming to terms upon all points. I want whatever arrangement is made that it shall be *fair* and *creditable* to both the Government and ourselves, and that not a *day* should be lost in the preparation of the contract and the act of incorporation. I must leave for England before October ends and I cannot leave until everything is settled. Further, my judgment is that, apart from personal grounds, it is better for all concerned to have all details settled early. Unless we can have the *cars* running over a long piece of road, west of Winnipeg, by this time next year, both the Government and the contractor will be put into discredit with the public.

Yours always,
GEO. STEPHEN.

The Right Honourable
Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

The Grange
Toronto, Sept. 30th, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

I was very glad, on personal as well as on public grounds, to receive the telegram which you were so kind as to send announcing your success. I fear the news was not quite so welcome to the *Globe*, which had proclaimed your "final, total, and disastrous failure," with the comment that this result would be "inspiriting to every true Canadian."

We shall all be anxious to hear the terms of the agreement, but the transfer of the work from Government to a Company on any tolerable terms, will be generally felt as a great relief.

For my own part, I entertain the heretical opinion that the bottom has fallen out of the politico-military railroad policy altogether. The two nations which it is intended to keep separate, are fusing before our eyes.

You were satisfied, I suppose, with the result of the West Toronto[1] election. Allowance must be made for the great superiority of Ryan to Beaty on the stump. Beaty was weak in that respect.

As I predicted, the Ontario Government has got into a mess on the subject of education. Crooks[2] has distinguished himself in blundering to such an extent that there are reports of his resignation, and I should not wonder if they found it necessary to make some change. The Opposition leaders would have a good opening if they were posted on the subject.

Very truly yours,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

[1] The election of James Beaty, Jr., as M.P. for West Toronto to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of the Hon. J. B. Robinson as Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.

[2] The Hon. Adam Crooks, Minister of Education in Mr. Mowat's Cabinet.

From the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie to Sir John Macdonald.

Toronto, October 26th, 1880.

My dear Sir,

I duly received your letter of yesterday with enclosure. The latter turns out not to be for me. I therefore return it to you. It is doubtless from some poor man driven frantic by the "National Policy," and he goes to the proper quarter for relief.

Yours truly,
A. Mackenzie.

Sir John A. Macdonald,
&c., &c., &c.

From John Haggart, Esq., M.P., to Sir John Macdonald.

Rideau Club,
Ottawa, January 8th, 1881.

My dear Sir John,

I exceedingly regret that I will be unable to vote with you on the Pacific Railway resolutions. I have tried to view them in as favourable a light as my friends, but cannot. As it will be the first vote I ever gave against the party, it causes me considerable uneasiness, and feel it to be my duty to you to notify you of my intention.

Yours faithfully,
John Haggart.[1]

Rt. Hon. Sir John A: Macdonald,

Mr. Haggart's attitude towards the Canadian Pacific Railway must have undergone a marked change, for when, seven years later, Sir John Macdonald invited him to enter the Cabinet, the Premier's choice was largely influenced by Sir George Stephen, at that time President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

[1] John Graham Haggart, M.P. for South Lanark, Ontario, from 1872 continuously until his death in 1913; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Postmaster General on the 3rd August, 1888, which office he held until the 11th January, 1892, when appointed Minister of Railways and Canals, resigning on the defeat of the Tupper ministry, the 12th July, 1896. Died, 13th March, 1913.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa,
19 Jan., 1881.

My dear Sir John,

Although a few days late, let me offer you a slight birthday gift, with my best wishes, and the heart-felt hope that you may have many "Happy Returns."

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
Lorne.

The Rt. Honble.
Sir John A. Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne.

Ottawa, January 20th, 1881.

Dear Lord Lorne,

I must return you my warmest thanks for your kind wishes, and for your most acceptable birthday gift. I have received such unvarying kindness from Your Excellency and Her Royal Highness since you came "to reign over us" that I did not need the portraits to keep you in my memory after you leave us. I shall however preserve them with care and pride. I sincerely trust that when Her Royal Highness returns to Canada, her health may be so completely restored that the original will present to us all the brightness and vitality so well shown in the portrait.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Lorne,
Faithfully yours,
John A. Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. J. A. Chapleau.

Confidential. *Ottawa, April 20th, 1881.*

My dear Chapleau,

I suppose you would have a good deal of trouble in effecting the abolition of the Legislative Council if you tried to carry it through that august body. Has it ever occurred to

you to adopt the same plan as we adopted in old Canada when we made the Legislative Council elective? We provided that all the then life members of the Council should belong to the body for life, but on death or resignation, the vacancy would not be filled. By making that arrangement we overcame the difficulty.

It is worth while considering whether you could not abolish the Upper Chamber by giving the life members seats in the one Chamber that will remain, with a provision that no vacancy in life-membership shall be filled up.

I do not know whether this is possible or not, but it will do no harm that you should think over it.

It would of course be said that the votes of the elected members would be swamped by the importations from the Upper House, but that state of things exists now when the Legislative Council can over-ride the measures passed in the popular Branch. This plan is not without precedent. In British Columbia, before the Union with Canada, there were a certain number of members nominated by the Crown, and a certain number elected by the people, sitting in the same Chamber, and in several other Crown Colonies the same thing exists. Now the plan may not be a desirable one, but if you find that it is the only way of overcoming reluctance of the Upper House to its abolition, it might be worth trying.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. J. A. Chapleau.

From the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toronto to Sir John Macdonald.

Archbishopric of Toronto,
Toronto, May 11th, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

The emigration from Ireland at the present moment is an affair of risk. The clergy is opposed to weeding out the people of Ireland, Catholics especially, and to putting into their places the Scotch and English farmers, Protestants of course. It is the policy of England to have all Ireland Protestant, as the planting of Ulster proves, on a large scale, and thousands of individual cases all over Ireland for many years, on a small one.

2nd. The driving away of the people to let the old landlord system thrive, and to let good land lie waste all over Ireland is a second evil—which

the clergy, the true patriots, dislike. There is a third evil which must be shared in by the country to which this starving population will come to. They must be supported, and helped to commence farming. They will be exacting, inasmuch as a premium was held out to them to come here.

If the Government was prepared to support and help them according to their needs and necessities, then you can bid for the prize.

Those poor people who go to the States have cousins or friends before them to procure work for them. There is a scarcely a family in Ireland that has not many relations in the U. States.

Let Ireland be governed as Scotland or the Dominion of Canada, then Ireland will be loyal and happy. They would not be men, were they contented with their condition, or their government.

My dear Sir John, now for yourself. I am, as ever, a very great friend and admirer of yours personally. You are a great politician and I am a great churchman, and you know we cannot always agree on every question. I hope most sincerely and pray that the trip across the ocean will completely restore you. We cannot afford to lose you for a while longer.

Yours very sincerely,
JOHN JOSEPH LYNCH,
Archbishop of Toronto.

From Sir John Macdonald to George Stephen, Esq.

Confidential. *Ottawa, 19th October, 1881.*

MY DEAR STEPHEN,

I am very uneasy about the movements of the Northern Pacific and the Quebec Government. The latter is, of course, anxious to sell to the highest bidder, and the N.P. are beyond a doubt anxious to get a foothold in Canada.

The President of the S.W.R. (Schultz's road) has taken a house here and says that the N.P.R. is to be a factor of no small importance at the next general elections. He is a fool—or he would not have said so—but he *did* say so, and to J. H. Pope. Yesterday I got a letter from a good friend of ours in Montreal who is deeply interested in Canadian politics. He writes as follows:—"There are strange rumours about railways. It is said the N. Pacific are about to purchase the Quebec railways for ten millions and to connect them with their system at Sault Ste. Marie. If this is true it means danger ahead. The N. Pacific are very anxious to get into Manitoba and N.W.—and they think that by coming to the rescue of the Province at a moment when the syndicate people are supposed to be unwilling, they can

secure a solid Quebec vote in the House of Commons against any veto of Provincial legislation in Manitoba in the interest of the Northern Pacific connection. I don't like the look of things, and Chapleau is not improving them, while that d—d ass ——, in his interview with the *Globe* reporter has made them worse."

So much for the rumours. Langevin has seen Chapleau who has lately been in New York, no doubt for the purpose of seeing the N.P. people—but offers have been made—Chapleau says—and he must act one way or the other at once. As the elections for Quebec are soon to come off, and the Government policy must be declared, of course Chapleau will magnify the offers in order to get a good thing out of you—*but there is danger ahead*, and if you act at all, you must act at once. I send this to Drinkwater to forward to you, as the sooner you get it the better.

In haste,
Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

George Stephen, Esq.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne.

Private. *November 14th, 1881.*

DEAR LORD LORNE,

The Council have had before them your confidential memo of 26th ultimo on the subject of the appointment of an Administrator in the event of the death, incapacity, removal or absence of the Governor-General. They are unanimously of opinion that some change should be made in the system as regards Canada. The Dominion is in fact a Vice-Royalty, and the administration of affairs in the temporary withdrawal of the Governor-General from the conduct of matters should not be transferred to the Senior Military officer who may happen to be in command at Halifax—no matter how low his rank might be. Had Your Excellency not remained after the day originally appointed for your departure, Canada would have been governed by a Lt. Colonel, who was not

really in command of the Queen's Forces in Canada, but happened to be the Senior officer at Halifax in consequence of the unavoidable absence of Sir Patrick Macdougall for a few weeks. I have no hesitation in saying that the assumption of the Administratorship by Col. Drayson would have caused great indignation here.[1] The Council are of opinion that when the Governor-General is to be absent on leave, and when no Lieutenant-Governor has been appointed by the Queen—he (the Governor-General) should be empowered to select from certain officials to be named in his Commission, a person to administer affairs in his absence, and to appoint him under his sign manual. The Council would suggest that the persons from whom the Governor-General should have the power of selection, might properly be the Chief Justice or one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Canada, or the senior officer in command of the Regular Forces—if of the rank of Lieutenant-General or the Admiral in command of the North American naval forces. In case of the death, incapacity or removal of the Governor-General, it is suggested that the administration should fall to the Chief Justice, or in his absence, to the senior judge of the Supreme Court. In case when a judge, other than the Chief Justice was sworn in—provision should be made, that the return of the Chief Justice would not depose the puisne judge from his temporary governorship.

As your memo. was confidential, it was thought better that I should inform Your Excellency of the views of Council informally, rather than by a Minute of Council to be submitted to the Administrator.

Believe me,
Dear Lord Lorne
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

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[1] The system herein objected to of providing for the Administration of the Government of Canada in the absence of a Governor-General, continued in force for some years subsequent to Sir John Macdonald's death, and, in fact, was not changed until 1905, when the last of the Imperial troops were withdrawn from the Dominion.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne to Sir John Macdonald.

Kensington,
December 7th, 1881,

DEAR SIR JOHN,

This is Lord Kimberley's[1] suggestion about the administratorship. I am sorry to see Fenian outrages are reported from Montreal.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
LORNE.

The Rt. Honble.
Sir John A. Macdonald.

From the (first) Earl of Kimberley to the Marquess of Lorne.

Kimberley House,
Dec. 6, 1881.

DEAR LORD LORNE,

I hardly think it would do to leave it to the Governor-General to select his locum tenens. The best plan it seems to me would be to give the Chief Justice or person for the time being discharging his office, a dormant commission. This would meet the difficulty.

I return Sir J. Macdonald's letter.

Sincerely yours,
KIMBERLEY.

From Sir John Macdonald to Martin Griffin, Esq.

Private. *Ottawa, 11th January, 1882.*

MY DEAR GRIFFIN,

The *Globe* of yesterday makes me ill—altho in a very civil way, no doubt with a desire to damage the Government.

Now, I am in good health—I am to-day 67—having been born on 11th January, 1815.

I took a holiday during the Christmas fortnight to keep off visitors, so as to prepare the work of the session.

I never had any intention of going to Montreal this week. The report arose, I fancy, from its being known that Lady Macdonald was going to Montreal to do a little shopping. She went down yesterday morning and returned the same day.

[1] In 1882 Lord Kimberley was Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have enjoyed my usual health since I returned from England. I have occasionally a little stomachic disturbance, and had it to a slight extent last week, but not to such an extent as to prevent my attending to business.

Thanks for your *very* pretty verses!

Happy New Year,
Yours always,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne.

Private.

Ottawa, February 4th, 1882.

DEAR LORD LORNE,

Council will not meet until Monday. I shall then submit Your Excellency's suggestions. The allusion to the late President[1] is well thought of. My only fear is that its effect may be impaired, if not destroyed, by some of the speeches that are likely to be made. Great indignation prevails in Canada about the U. S. action in the matter of the Panama Canal,[2] and some independent members may take the opportunity of giving it expression. However, I think the paragraph ought to stand.

With respect to the N. West nomenclature, I am inclined to think that it should be made the subject of a special message. The Opposition will certainly say Parliament should be considered as to the territorial divisions, and *may* say it ought to have something to do with the christening of them. It seems to me it would be well to have a report prepared by myself, as Minister of the Interior, suggesting the divisions and giving the various reasons for making them. This should be submitted to Your Excellency by Minute of Council for your consideration, and you should be requested to suggest the names. The message would be referred to a

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[1] Garfield, of the United States, who died, the victim of an assassin, 19th September, 1881.

[2] In November, 1881, the United States Government proposed to Great Britain that, inasmuch as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was no longer suitable to existing conditions, it should be modified so as not to prevent the United States fortifying the Panama Canal and holding political control of it.

Committee of the whole House, and resolutions adopted concurring in the divisions and accepting the names. May I ask Your Excellency's opinion as to this course.[1]

By the way, I think I mentioned in my last conversation with you on the subject, that the name of the old Hudson's Bay district Assiniboia, would sound better than the name of the river, and its termination would be in accord with Athabasca and Alberta. You seemed then to coincide with me.

Believe me
Dear Lord Lorne,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Alexander Galt.

Confidential. *Ottawa, February 26th, 1882.*

MY DEAR GALT,

We were all much taken aback by the arrival of your letter of resignation,[2] and more especially for the cause. The resignation is more to be regretted, as the usefulness of the High Commissionership is only now beginning to be developed, and I should like on your account as well as on ours, that you should return to Canada with a flourish of trumpets, and be able to point to accomplished results. I know quite well that the Gladstone Government don't look on you or your office with favour. That we always expected, and it would be a grand thing for you to survive them.

With Lord Carnarvon at the Colonial Office, your status as one of the Corps diplomatique would soon be recognized. He would take pleasure in magnifying your office. But just consider for a moment what important questions you are abandoning to a successor. And think what effect your apparent want of success will have on your future as a public man.

[1] On the 8th May, 1882, a Minute of the Privy Council was passed establishing, for certain purposes, four provisional districts in the North West Territories, to be named respectively Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca.

[2] Of the office of High Commissioner for Canada in London, to which Sir Alexander Galt had been appointed in 1880.

Let us see—

1. A French treaty—There will, I presume, be a temporary treaty with England. In such case the High Commissioner should go to Paris, with the consent of the Foreign Office, to act with Lord Lyons and make a special convention as to trade between Canada and France.

2. A Spanish treaty—should the treaty with France break down as is most likely, negotiations will be opened with England, and the High Commissioner must be on hand to deal with Canadian trade.

3. After years of ill-concealed hostility of the Rothschilds against Canada, you have made a great strike by taking up the old clo' cry, and going in for a Jew immigration into the Northwest. By following up this subject, and establishing a Jew colony here, whether ultimately successful or not, a link—a missing link—will be established between Canada and Sidonia. I should prefer *you* to write another epistle to the Hebrews, rather than a newcomer.

4. All the trouble we have had, and you especially, about an assisted emigration is now about to fructify. Bishop Lynch is about to sail on this mission. With skilful manipulation, bringing together Lynch, the Irish Hierarchy and Cardinal Manning, into a pressure on Gladstone, an additional vote say of a million (especially diverted to the Colonies if possible) may be obtained. Obtain it, and you are King of the Northwest.

5. Probably the fishery exhibition of 1883 will be the greatest on record, and on it Canada must be fully represented, and our wealth of fish must be proved beyond a doubt. The High Commissioner must be the "biggest toad in the puddle" there—for we will show Atlantic, Pacific, stream and lake fish, sending specimens from all our interior lakes, as well as from the salt water.

These are some of the special and important objects to be handled by the H. Comr. and were I in your place, I would think twice before I left these subjects to a new man. The fact that you sowed the seed will be of no value to you personally; the man who carries the measures gets the *kudos*. Remember in Quentin Durward—

> The page slew the boar
> The king got the gloire.

From all this you will learn that I am opposed to your resignation, and will not advise its acceptance.

In the interests of Canada and, as I think, in the true interests of yourself, before doing so, I shall ask for your reconsideration. Take time to think, and if you do, you will remain in England for a year or two more our High Commissioner.

Yours always,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne.

Stadacona Hall,
Private. *Ottawa, May 2nd, 1882.*

DEAR LORD LORNE,

I see that the proceedings on Mr. Costigan's resolutions for an address to The Queen on Irish matters[1] have excited some attention in England and Ireland.

As finally adopted, they are perfectly harmless and are the result of a compromise.

I enclose the resolutions as first proposed, and as passed by the House.

Mr. Costigan is a ministerial supporter and a man of good judgment and moderation, except when "the wrongs of Ireland" are discussed. The resolutions were however not introduced on his sole responsibility, but were settled at a meeting of the Irish Catholic members of both Houses. On seeing the address I endeavoured in vain to induce him

[1] Certain resolutions in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, moved in the House of Commons by Mr. John Costigan, M.P. for Victoria, New Brunswick. The text of these resolutions as originally proposed will be found in the *Notes and Proceedings of the House of Commons*, 22nd March, 1882, page 256, and as finally adopted, in the *Journals of the House of Commons*, 20th April, 1882, pages 307–8. These resolutions were duly embodied in an address to the Queen. Their passage was evidently resented by Mr. Gladstone who, in acknowledging their receipt, caused the Canadian Government to be informed that–

"Her Majesty will always gladly receive the advice of the Parliament of Canada on all matters relating to the Dominion, and the administration of its affairs; but with respect to the questions referred to in the address, Her Majesty will, in accordance with the constitution of this country, have regard to the advice of the Imperial Parliament and Ministers, to whom all matters relating to the affairs of the United Kingdom exclusively appertain."

not to give notice, but he said that if he did not do so, Anglin[1] would—Anglin, as perhaps Your Excellency is aware, is Costigan's rival for the leadership of the Irish Catholics in Canada.

The address, even in its original form gives no countenance to any disloyal or separatist feeling. It is profuse in its expressions of loyalty to the Queen, and of the contentment of the Irish in Canada with their position here. It states a desire to strengthen the Empire and to serve under its flag.

The fifth paragraph was objectionable—as asking for Home rule for Ireland without reserve or condition; and the sixth as implying a censure on the Irish policy of H. M. Government, and for depriving the people of Ireland of the blessings of civil liberty.

It was doubtful whether the passing of the address could have been successfully resisted. There is a general feeling in Canada in favour of the federal system, in consequence of its favourable operation here, and it is especially valued by the French Canadians who consider it as the safeguard of their religion, language and laws. But in my opinion it would have had an equally injurious effect to have carried or rejected the address. If carried as originally drafted, it would have had the appearance of an uncalled for interference with the Imperial policy, and it would have required the whole power of the Government to whip in their supporters to defeat it—if defeated it could be. The rejection of the address would have greatly irritated the majority of our Irish Catholic population, and we should probably have seen a renewal of the conspiracies between the Fenian element here and the Irish Americans of the United States from which we have already suffered so much. Twice within the last twenty years Canada, merely because she was a part of the British Empire, has been invaded by a fenian filibustering force, formed in a great measure of men trained in the Civil War and commanded by officers of military experience. On those occasions Canada expended much money and had its trade and credit paralyzed for the time, not to speak of the loss of some valuable lives. Under

[1] The Hon. Timothy Warren Anglin, M.P. for the County of Gloucester, New Brunswick, which he represented in the House of Commons (1867-1882); was Speaker of that body from 1874 until 1878. Died, 3rd May, 1896.

the circumstances I thought it well to see Costigan, who did not desire to embarrass the Government, but was actuated by a sincere desire to obtain an expression of sympathy with Ireland. I induced him to modify the 5th and 6th paragraphs by a promise to support the address if he accepted my amendments, and this he did.

Your Excellency will see that the 5th paragraph instead of praying for Home rule unconditionally, now "ventures to express a hope, that, *if consistent with the integrity and well being of the Empire*," and "if the *rights* and status of the *minority* are fully *protected* and *secured*, *some* means may be found of meeting the expressed desire" of so many of H. Majesty's subjects in that regard."

The 6th paragraph, as amended, does not pray for the release of the suspects, and the restoration of civil liberty, &c., but merely expresses "a *hope* that the *time* has come when H. Majesty's clemency may, *without injury to the interests of* the United Kingdom, be extended to persons charged with political offences *only*" and the blessing of *personal* liberty restored to them.

Mr. Costigan, at my suggestion, moved his resolution on going into Supply, instead of as a substantive motion—so as to prevent an amendment. Had he not done so, Mr. Anglin would have moved the original resolution in amendment. As it was, our parliamentary opposition, who had promised to support the first draft, were forced to vote with Costigan, although Anglin in doing so complained loudly of the emasculation of the original address. Our flank movement in this troublesome matter has been completely successful, and the subject, instead of remaining a cause of agitation and annoyance, is now fairly dead and buried, much to the comfort of the peaceable people of Canada and much to the disappointment of the Fenian element in our midst.

Pray pardon this long note, but I think it right that Your Excellency should be fully informed of the reasons which governed your advisers in supporting the resolutions and address.

Believe me,
Dear Lord Lorne,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

On the 20th June, 1882, took place the fifth general elections for the House of Commons of Canada, at which Sir John Macdonald and his Government were handsomely sustained.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

York, June 22, 1882.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,

Who reigns at Ottawa is a question which affects me as little as any man in the Dominion, yet I welcome the tidings which we have just received of your victory in the election.

The financial achievements of the Government entitled it to a renewal of public confidence, and its success has saved us from a return to financial incompetence, and at the same time from the renewed tyranny of a narrow clique.

Do not forget that you have received a good deal of non-party support, given in the broad interest of the country.

I hope the fresh stock of health which you laid in here has lasted well.

We sail for Canada at the beginning of next month. My wife is taking a final course of Buxton waters. If she were here, she would unite with me in very kind regards and congratulations on your triumph, to Lady Macdonald.

Believe me,
Very truly yours,
Goldwin Smith.

The Right Hon.
Sir J. A. Macdonald, M.P.

From Sir John Macdonald to Professor Goldwin Smith.

Rivière du Loup (en bas)
August 5, 1882.

My dear Mr. Goldwin Smith,

Let me welcome Mrs. Smith and you back to the Dominion.

Thanks for your congratulations on the result of the General Elections. The country has approved of our national policy. It was a bold and, as it proved, a wise thing to appeal to the country on that issue. I, of course, had to meet with opposition from the weak-kneed among our friends—and especially from those whose re-elections were doubtful. I am vain enough to believe that our general policy deserved, and has received, the approval of the country.

Our trade and financial policy has of course been "endorsed" (how I hate that phrase!) by the people, but so has, I think, our railway, land, and immigration policy. Blake made our treatment of Ontario a question of want of confidence, and Mowat and his Government rushed into the contest on the specific ground that we had done injustice to Ontario and provincial rights.

Blake and Mowat are, therefore, in the ludicrous plight of having a verdict given against them by the Province whose wrongs they were going to avenge.

I am trying to get some good men out for the local elections, which I think will come off next month. I should like to see you in the Legislature, were it only to rescue educational matters from the hands of Crooks.

By the way, you did the Canadian Parliament and Canadian statesmen generally but scant justice in your remarks about the Costigan resolutions and the address to the Queen on Irish matters.

However, I shall reserve my criticisms until I have the pleasure of meeting you, which I hope will be some time next month.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

Toronto, August 23, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

It is announced that you are to be here for a Convention on Sept. 13. My wife unites with me in hoping that Lady Macdonald will be with you, and that you will both do us the favour to be our guests during your stay. You know that we can afford you, besides a warm welcome, quiet and a respite in the evening, from the cares of state and of patronage, which beset you during the day.

I shall meet you, on the subject of Mr. Costigan and his resolution, armed with a party editorial in each hand—a Tory one confessing the guilt of the Grits, and a Grit one confessing the guilt of the Tories.

Believe me, what you want, to make your party victorious, is a stronger set of men. I have seen enough, as an English Liberal, of the Catholic vote. Besides the descent and the scandal, the name of priest is perfidy.

Yours very truly,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private, *Montreal, 27th August, 1882.*

My dear Sir John,

* * * I wired you on Friday that we had succeeded in finding a practicable pass through the Selkirk Mountains. I felt sure from what Major Rogers had told me last year, that we should succeed, but was very glad to have my impressions confirmed. This secures us a direct short through line, and adds greatly to the commercial value of the line as a transcontinental line. We shall have the rails laid by the 1st August next, right up to the entrance to the mountains beyond Bow Fort, but how long it will take us to cover the 250 miles beyond, to Kamloops, I cannot tell till we know more about the work.

Always yours,
George Stephen.

Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to Martin J. Griffin, Esq.

Ottawa, 10th October, 1882.

My dear Griffin,

I am bored to death by people applying for judgeships and senatorships. I wish you would take occasion at an early day to write a leader for the *Mail* somewhat in this wise:

"Rumours occasionally reach us from Ottawa that the ministry are continually importuned for judgeships and senatorships. Now this ought not to be so. The Government should be left free, as the responsibility is theirs. It has long been known that, with regard to judicial appointments, Sir John Macdonald has been governed by the one consideration of efficiency. We have heard it stated on more than one occasion he has told applicants for seats on the Bench, that the fact of their being applicants was a serious bar to their success. This rule still holds. Nothing can be more unseemly than for a member of the bar to apply for a judgeship. Such appointments are not made for the sake of the individual, nor for the sake of the party, and the Government should look with disfavour on any pressure, personal or political, in favour of an individual. We venture to think that the same principle should be applied to senatorships. A seat in the Senate is an office of high dignity, and

the responsibility of the Government in selecting men who will be called upon to deal as legislators with the most important matters affecting the well being of the commonwealth, is very great. From our point of view the Government should resist all outside pressure both as to judges and senators.

"We speak of this because we observe in the local press individual claims urged from local considerations."

Something of this kind I wish you would write after your best style. I am determined to resist in the future, as I have in the past, all attempts at local dictation.

Yours always,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

M. J. Griffin, Esq.,
The Mail,
Toronto.

From Sir John Macdonald to George Stephen, Esq.

Private. *Ottawa, October 20th, 1882.*

MY DEAR STEPHEN,—

I don't think it would do at all to propose to Parliament to give the C.P.R. the even numbered lots along the line of the railway. It would intensify the cry of monopoly and do Government and Company much harm. There will be quite sufficient row about the conveyance to you of the best lands south of the line. Let us go by degrees in what we do. The Orders-in-Council for lands will be passed by next Monday. We are endeavouring to discover some plan for the issue of the patents speedily, but I fear that will need legislation. I have written to Washington to ascertain the precise mode in which deeds are issued for public lands.

Regina seems growing in favour. By the way, I hope there is no mistake as to what the C.P.R. was to do there. The arrangement was that the C.P.R. should indicate some place from which a branch line would be built, *not located only*, the Company to contribute the branch line, and the

Government the public buildings, and the division to be equal.

Hickson has, I believe, written to Rose about the failure of negotiations.

When do you return?

Yours always,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

George Stephen, Esq.

From Sir John Macdonald to J. E. Collins, Esq.[1]

Ottawa, 12th December, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am not sure whether I answered your note of the 23rd ultimo on the subject of a biography of myself, which you say you are preparing for the Rose Publishing Company. It so happens that within the last three or four months I have had half a dozen communications from different parties in Canada to the same effect. It seems to me, therefore, that I had better leave all to carry out their intentions in this matter, without reference to myself.

Yours very truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

J. E. Collins, Esq.,
37 Elm Street,
Toronto.

From Sir John Rose, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Bartholomew Lane, E.C.,
4th January, 1883.

Private.

DEAR MACDONALD,

First, let me wish every health and happiness to you and all yours during the new year, and the fullest measure of success in all you undertake! And next, let me thank you for your several letters of the 11th and 16th, of portions of which I have made discreet use.

We both agree, I think, in our estimate of Brydges; and I hope that your and my advice may not be without effect on making him follow the

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[1] Author of "The Life and Times of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald" which appeared in 1883.

eleventh commandment, and guard in future against nepotism in land matters. While I fear he has not been quite blameless in the past, yet the bitterness of Stephen and Smith goes too far. The former has become very imperious and intolerant of opposition, and I am afraid he will make enemies where conciliation would be more politic. His earnestness and force of character are invaluable qualities, considering the gigantic work he has on hand, but it is no easy matter to hold an even balance between *his* views and those of *more cautious men*. He speaks very gratefully of the liberal and friendly way in which you and the Govt. have dealt with him.

I am sorry to say there is no lull in the attacks on the N.W. and the interests connected with it. Enclosed is a specimen of a dozen things which appear weekly.

I have been trying to get some concerted action between the H.B.—the C.P.R. and the C.N.W. Land Co.,—but Stephen's antipathy to Brydges makes it very difficult. The *issue* of the Land Co., was sadly bungled; and the allotment of so many shares to speculative applicants in Canada, a great mistake. I think they will issue a circular to their shareholders of a reassuring kind, and I hope it may succeed, for any failure in that quarter means a serious curtailment of C.P.R. resources.

I think Stephen is wrong in attributing to Galt intentional—or malevolent misrepresentation about N.W. He may have been indiscreet in expressing his opinion; and he is, no doubt, in a cross and unpleasant frame of mind, but I do not believe that the *purpose* of making mischief is one that he can be justly charged with. It is very unfortunate that Stephen will keep so completely aloof from him. He might be useful in many ways, and a moderate extension of confidence towards him, would counteract any inclination he may have to be unfriendly. Besides—holding the official position he does—the very appearance of antagonism is injurious. I have spoken more than once to S. about this, and am again trying to bring them together, but how it may result I know not. Personally, Galt and I get on perfectly well, and though I have my own opinion and feeling about many things, I have kept them to myself, and never allowed them to interfere with our old relations, or to lessen my hearty coöperation in anything he wants help for.

I have inflicted a very long letter on you; but I don't often sin to such an extent.

My wife joins me in kindest wishes to you and Lady Macdonald. We have heard nothing of Bernard of late.

Believe me ever
most sincerely yours,
JOHN ROSE.

In 1882-3 there occurred a recrudescence of the sensational stories circulated in the press in 1879 about imaginary slights offered to the Princess Louise by Sir John and Lady Macdonald. These coming to the notice of the Princess, who was spending the winter in Bermuda, Her Royal Highness wrote thus to Sir John:—

From H. R. H. The Princess Louise to Sir John Macdonald.

H. M. S. Dido, *January 25*, 1883.

DEAR SIR JOHN,—

I have been wanting to write to you ever since I saw those ill-natured articles in the papers against Lady Macdonald and myself, but his Excellency thought as they were such preposterous inventions that I should leave it alone. Now that you have written to Col. de Winton, I cannot help sending you a few lines, having received so much kindness from you and Lady Macdonald ever since I first came to Canada, and I have learned to look upon you both as friends that I made out there. It is, therefore, most annoying to me that such stories should have been circulated. To invent that I have had a misunderstanding with your wife vexes me beyond measure.

You must know in how many ways I admire Lady Macdonald and think her a worthy example to every wife. I hope your health is quite restored. Believe me, with kind remembrances to Lady Macdonald, yours very sincerely.

LOUISE.

to which kind and gracious letter he replied:

From Sir John Macdonald to H.R.H. the Princess Louise.

Stadacona Hall, Ottawa, February 20, 1883.

MADAM,—

I am honoured by the receipt of your gracious note and can assure your Royal Highness that I gratefully appreciate its kind condescension.

Your high position, while it does not altogether shield you from the base attacks of a degraded press, renders them powerless for harm and your Royal Highness can afford to treat them with the contempt they deserve.

It is otherwise with Lady Macdonald, who has already proofs that these calumnies have been widely disseminated and that some people have been willing to believe them simply because she happens to be my wife.

Lady Macdonald feels especially aggrieved at the imputation cast upon her of having failed in respect and duty towards your Royal Highness, from whom she has received such unvarying kindness. Both she and I are, however, more than compensated for the annoyance by the gracious

Jno A Macdonald

68. 1883.

letter sent us by Col. de Winton, and we hope in good time to have the opportunity of personally tendering you our best thanks. I have the honour to be, madam, your Royal Highness' grateful and obedient servant

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Professor Goldwin Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

Toronto, Feb. 17, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

I see the Canadian Commissioner[1] in England is preaching not only Imperial Federation, but Home Rule. Imperial Federation he may safely preach as much as he pleases; nobody ever has taken or ever will take a practical step in that direction. But Home Rule, at this juncture, cannot be advocated with impunity by anyone who is supposed to speak for Canada. The situation in England is one of serious, I fear extreme, peril. Mr. Gibson tells me that nothing but the rigorous administration of the Crimes Act prevents things from being as bad as ever in Ireland. Fortunately, Lord Spencer is a man against whom Mr. Chamberlain and his section do not venture to act as they did against Forster. It is not power that is wanting to put down the rebellion—for rebellion it is—but, alas, patriotism. Faction prevails over country. The Prime Minister is under a strong delusion about Ireland, of which he personally knows nothing, and his ear is open to the intrusions of an unscrupulous ambition which hopes to grasp power by the help of the Irish vote. The Mallow election shows that a decisive struggle between union and disunion is at hand. Lord Hartington and his section, who will soon be in power, are bracing themselves for that struggle, and they will not thank you for casting the moral weight of Canada into the scale against them.

If the Fisheries question comes up again, you will feel the effects of any encouragement given to Fenians in the U. S..

I have always known that the political connection with the colonies was a source of weakness, not of strength, to the mother country; but I hardly expected to see the colonies becoming, at a critical moment, a force on the side of those who were trying to dismember the United Kingdom.

Do not put yourself to the trouble of answering this.

Very truly yours,

GOLDWIN SMITH.

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[1] Sir Alexander Galt, who resigned the High Commissionership about this time, and vacated the office on the 31st May, 1883. The Mallow (County Cork) Election, referred to in this letter, was held in January, 1883, and resulted in the return of William O'Brien over a Liberal.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Alexander Galt.

Private. *Ottawa, February 21st, 1883.*

My dear Galt,

Your notes anent the Edinburgh and Greenock speeches and the extracts from the press on those speeches, duly received, for which thanks!

I don't know that the allusions to the Irish question and Home Rule were necessary, and think that on the whole they had better as the Yankees say, "have been hired out." You cannot dissociate, or rather the public will not dissociate, your personal from your political position. They will insist that you would not have so spoken without the tacit consent of the Government you represent. From the extracts sent, it is clear that the English press are not offended by your language, and it remains to be seen whether the Government will be.

Goldwin Smith, your old friend, writes me very strongly on this subject. He says that your language will be resented by the Government, as we will find whenever the Fisheries question comes up. How this may be, we yet cannot say, but Goldwin is in constant correspondence with the people in power, and from his known antipathy to the colonies, may point strongly in his letters to this case as an instance of the inconvenience to England of her having colonies. The Canadian High Commissioner is now acknowledged to be an Ambassador, and as such it is his duty to be *persona grata* to the Government to which he is accredited. Now the Government may resent or feel irritated at your stirring the question. An Ambassador *can't* speak his private sentiments on the political questions arising in the country to which he is sent. He must be silent or be held to speak with implied authority from his Government. All I can say is that as yet no harm seems to have arisen. But some Grit or Ashmead-Bartlett may call attention to your speech in Parliament, and if so, one can't foresee what direction the debate may take. The rest of your speech was good in every respect.

We are going on quietly here. Next Tuesday, 27th, the Ontario elections come on, and great interest is taken in them. The benches of our Parliament here are half empty

as the Ontario M.P.'s are off to their counties to join in the fight. If Mowat is not beaten, he will be run very close. Geo. Stephen writes me in great spirits as to the C.P.R.

Faithfully yours.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir A. T. Galt.

From Sir Alexander Galt to Sir John Macdonald.

9 Victoria Chambers, London, S. W.,
16th May, 1883.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

As I hope to see you in a week after receipt, I shall not bother you by writing.

The only thing is about Prince Leopold. The P. of W. captured me at the Fishmonger's dinner, and expressed the strongest desire his brother should go out as G. G. Prince Leopold was also there and said he wished very much to go. The P. of W. desired me to lay the matter on Lord Derby—hence my telegram.

I showed your reply to the Prince to-day. He said he feared it was too late, but I shall probably know more before I close, as I am just going to see Lord Derby on the subject.

I enclose you an article from the London *Globe* which I think will please you.

I have my hands full before starting. To-morrow a lunch at the Exhibition and the Prince at 2—. At 4.45 I present the Nova Scotia sword of honour to Laurie at the Saddler's Hall. At 8 P.M. I start for Paris—meet the Frenchmen at 1,30 Friday and return here on the same night.

I shall be glad to get through and be off.

Yours sincerely,

A. T. GALT.

P. S. I am to have a private audience of the Queen to announce my resignation and take leave—probably on Tuesday.

From Sir Alexander Galt to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S. W.,
16 May, 1883.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

Since writing I have seen Lord Derby and although the appointment is not yet settled—I fear there is not much chance of our getting the Prince.[1]

[1] H. R. H. Prince Leopold as next Governor-General of Canada.

I urged it as strongly as I could, but doubt if I seriously shook his predilections. He seems to think the Queen would not consent, and as I have good reason to believe the contrary, I suggested the Prince's name should be submitted to Her Majesty and her pleasure taken. It is possible this course may be taken.

The Marquis of Lansdowne is the favorite at present, at least so the Prince of Wales told me this morning. He will make a very good Governor in every respect.

Yours sincerely,
A. T. GALT.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, May 16, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have all along been strongly in favour of my brother-in-law's coming, and hope that his health will allow of it. I am also all in favour of the Dominion Government of the day being consulted on the nomination of the G. G.

The term should I think be five years—as in the case of India—and as arranged in the case of my appointment by Disraeli.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
LORNE.

The Rt. Hon. Sir J. Macdonald, M.P.,
K.C.B.

The selection of the Marquess of Lansdowne as successor to Lord Lorne in the Governor-Generalship of Canada, was announced about this time.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Rose, Bart.

Stadacona Hall,
Confidential. *Ottawa, 29th June, 1883.*

MY DEAR ROSE,

I have your cipher telegram regarding Lord Lansdowne. Of course I know that all the charges made against him here in the Irish Catholic Press are untrue, and I have no doubt

he will make a very good Governor. The only thing I fear is that these Fenian fellows may make his residence here uncomfortable. The *Evening Post*, of Montreal, which is an Irish Catholic of extreme, I may say Fenian opinions, has a considerable circulation and has got a good deal of influence. It has started a crusade against the new Governor; the fact that he is an Irish Landlord will be sufficient to make him unpopular with the Irish, and induce them to disregard all explanations in regard to his conduct towards his tenantry. You may remember that lying story of the *Globe's* years ago to the effect that Sir Edmund Head had called the French Canadians "an inferior race", destroyed Sir Edmund's popularity and lessened his comfort and usefulness. The French would persist in believing the charge simply because it was reiterated, and this notwithstanding its falsity, and the fact of its being explained by Sir Edmund Head as well as by Cartier and myself who were present and heard what he did really say.[1]

Every effort will be made to make things pleasant for Lord Lansdowne, and I do not think now, after the salutary examples that have been made in England and the expressions of horror in the respectable American press against the recent assassinations, that there is any reasonable danger of personal violence to him.

Still, we saw poor McGee shot down, and it is not impossible that some emissary of O'Donovan Rossa may come over here, and as that respectable gentleman has found out that shooting landlords is not very safe in England, he may try it on here. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to call Lord Lorne's attention privately to the enclosed from the *Evening Post*; he has, I believe, transmitted them to Lord Derby.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Honourable
Sir John Rose.

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[1] What Sir Edmund Head did say on the occasion referred to was that the French Canadians, as a race, were *not* inferior to the people of Upper Canada.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lorne to Sir John Macdonald.

Citadel,
Quebec, Sept. 5, 1883.

My dear Sir John,

I find that Captain Durrant of the *Canada* desires that something be said to prevent addresses from being presented to Prince George.[1] As the Colonial Office circular put this matter in the hands of the "Governor" of the Colony visited by the ship, I beg that you will communicate with the Lt. Governor of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, my wish that no address be presented to the Prince, who only visits the Provinces as one of the officers of H.M.S. *Canada*. All invitations for any public reception, ball etc., should be addressed to the "Captain and Officers of H.M.S. *Canada*," and not to Prince George.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
Lorne.

The Rt. Honble.
Sir J. Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Edgar Dewdney.

Private.

Ottawa,
17 Sept., 1883.

My dear Dewdney,

. . . . Now for a point of etiquette. I have received a letter from Hayter Reed[2] saying he was directed by you to send me a copy of your letter to Col. Irvine about Maple Creek. Now he (Reed) should not write to me. His letter should have been addressed to my Secretary, "to be laid before me." *Forms are things.*

Yours sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

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[1] His present Majesty King George V.

[2] Mr. Hayter Reed was at that time Assistant Indian Commissioner for the Northwest Territories, Mr. Dewdney uniting in his own person the offices of Lieutenant-Governor and Indian Commissioner. In the latter capacity he was an official of Sir John Macdonald as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. But as Lieutenant-Governor, by virtue of an absurd provision in our more or less absurd Table of Precedence, he took precedence, as such, over his own Minister. The spectacle of an official of his department going into dinner before him always amused Sir John.

From Sir Andrew Clark, Bart., M.A.[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

16 Cavendish Square, W.,
6th October, 1883.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,

I am touched by the thought that in the midst of all the great affairs which demand your attention and engross your thoughts, you should have sought and found time to send to me in such felicitous words and with such friendly warmth, your congratulations upon my promotion to a baronetcy. The dignity was neither solicited nor desired, but having been accepted, it is both a satisfaction and a relief to learn from one in your justly great position that the bestowal is approved and that acceptance is not condemned. Acceptance is not without its consolation, for in me, however unworthy, the custom of restricting medical baronetcies to persons officially connected with the Court has been broken, and the honour, such as it is, made free to the whole profession.

Accept the expression of my best thanks for your welcome words and the assurance that they shall be long held in grateful remembrance. I beg to be kindly remembered to Lady Macdonald and to express the hope that you may be long spared in health and vigour to carry on the great work which has fallen to your hands to do for a people which loves you (and I can now well understand how) with all its heart.

Yours sincerely,
Andrew Clark.

From the Marquess of Lorne[2] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

S. S. Sardinian
27 Oct., 1883.

My dear Sir John,

I was glad for your sake tho' sorry for our own, not to see you this morning, for it was wet and raw, and your health is far too precious to the country to allow of any risks.

G. Stephen tells me privately of the guarantee. I am heartily glad to hear of it. That railway must be backed. Any failure would be disastrous to all Canada and be far worse than the failure of the G.T.R. in old days to pay. All Canadian projects would smell of railway failures, and a serious setback be experienced. Therefore I think you are quite right, and if the Saskatchewan Valley country from Prince Albert to Edmonton and on to the Peace can be soon opened by a railway, the future is assured. But the air line must have feeders quickly, for the best country is away from it.

If I can at any time be of the slightest use in London, you know you have only to command me.

Believe me, dear Sir John,
Yours very truly,
Lorne.

[1] Sir Andrew Clark, Bart., Sir John Macdonald's English physician.

[2] Lord Lorne's good-bye letter on relinquishing the position of Governor-General.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S. W.,
Oct. 31st, 1883.

My dear Sir John,

I duly received your letters of the 1st and 18th October. I am very glad to learn that you have been relieved of the Dept. of the Interior. Nothing could be better than Mr. Macpherson's appointment,[1] if only he can be made to realize that the Northwest is not a portion of Chestnut Park. I am sure that the most liberal policy in disposing of the lands there is best, *financially*, as well as in every other way for Canada. I hope you will now get a little more rest. The cable as to your disqualification only resulted in the statement being made everywhere, i.e., all the papers—that you had been elected for two constituencies—that only one had been contested and that you have been entirely absolved from any personal bribery and had suffered from the indiscretion of an agent only. I do hope you will retain Carleton. We ought to be able to put in anybody for Lennox after the course taken by the opposition re the Napanee Railway subsidy, and I fear if you open Carleton, you will lose it from the rivalry of your friends. I am arranging with Reuter to publish my telegrams as his own. I shall be glad to receive your news and to get proper currency for it. I will give you an account of the Cable Conference at Paris in another letter. In the meantime I remain

Yours faithfully,
Chas. Tupper.

From the (4th) Earl of Dunraven to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

White's Club,
St. James's Street,
London, 1st December, 1883.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,

A feeling of dissatisfaction with our system of one sided free trade is, I think, beginning to make itself felt among our people, that is, those engaged in manufactures; and I should not be surprised if a demand for an enquiry by Royal Commission into the condition of trade as a preliminary to an alteration in our fiscal system were made a test question in some of the large towns, more especially in Lancashire, at the next general election. Protection we shall never return to; but Fair Trade has a good chance.

The new plank in the Fair Trade platform is a 10 per cent. *ad valorem* import duty on everything produced without the Empire, raw material such as cotton, etc., etc., alone excepted, the produce of colonies and dependencies being admitted duty free. I should be glad to know from you whether in your opinion a duty on United States wheat, flour, etc. as

[1] Of the Hon. D. L. Macpherson, as Minister of the Interior.

low as say 4s. 6d. or 5s. per quarter would have any marked beneficial effect upon Canada. We would not submit here to a duty on wheat sufficiently high to seriously increase the price of bread. But I maintain that a duty on United States wheat as low as to have a very slight effect in raising the price of bread, would still be high enough to give an advantage to the Canadian grower sufficient to turn a considerable stream of capital and men into the south west of Canada which otherwise would go to the Northwestern States and Territories of the United States. Is that your opinion? Also, I would like to know whether a 10 per cent. differential duty in favour of Canada and against the States, would materially increase, in Canada, the trade in preserved provisions, meats, vegetables, etc., etc., and in fruits, cheese, etc., etc.,

There is another matter I should like to have your opinion on. I have often thought of the possibility and desirability of some representation in Parliament being given to the colonies. The most obvious way in which it could be done would be by creation of colonial peerages. A certain number of Peers for each colony to sit in the House of Lords. Without troubling you with any details, I should like to know whether you think such a scheme would be practicable. Could men be found in the colonies ready to undertake such a position, and would the creation of colonial Peers, sitting in the House of Lords be popular in the colonies. Someday or other an attempt, at any rate, will be made to reform the House of Lords, and the attempt will probably be made from within that body. Probably it will be on the lines of advocating that a certain number of Peers should be elected by the whole body to represent them in Parliament, in the same way that Scotch and Irish Peers elect representative Peers. The absurdity and danger of allowing great questions to be settled by the votes of men who avowedly have no interest in politics and never come near the House, is acknowledged by most men on all sides. If any such reform is mooted, then would be the time to suggest colonial representation. I hope you are well and Canada flourishing.

Yours very truly,

DUNRAVEN.

Of all Sir John Macdonald's political associates in his later years I am disposed to consider that, personally, he was most attached to Sir John Rose, and this regard extended to Lady Rose, whose sudden death is thus touchingly described by her sorrowing husband.

From Sir John Rose to Sir John Macdonald.

18 Queen's Gate.
Thursday, 13th Dec., 1883.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

I must write you a few lines to tell you of my great sorrow. She had always so great an admiration and affection for you that I know the grief will in some measure be your own.

Though she had been ailing occasionally during the last year, she was bright and active in her mind as ever. All her family and her friends seemed to centre round her even more than usual. We came up from the country from visiting a friend two or three days before her death. There she had been the life and soul of the party. On the Saturday we dined at Bassano's—a Canadian party including Galt &c. On the Sunday she went to see the children and received a number of friends in the afternoon—Galt among the rest. I left her on Monday *forenoon* engaged in her usual household work, and making arrangements about Xmas for the children and grandchildren. She took her usual morning drive and called at their houses, returning about halfpast one. She walked upstairs to the dining room—giving some order to the servant in passing through the hall;—sat down on a chair saying to her maid who met her that she felt faint. Her arm fell by her side—her eyes closed and she died peacefully and painlessly! Amy came in a few moments after; but I did not get home for nearly half an hour. You may imagine my home-coming!—to find the support and sunshine of 40 years gone for ever! Forgive me my dear Macdonald for obtruding all these details on you, but I seem drawn to the few, who like yourself have been so closely associated with us all our lives, and I know you will share our sorrow. We were speaking of you only on the *Sunday evening* in connection with your last letters to me, and she said it would be left for posterity to appreciate fully the great work you had done; and the marvellous ability that had been—so silently and steadily—producing these results. Our time can't be far off, but I hope I may live to see you again, and to talk over the friendly associations of past life.

I am trying to get back my self-control enough to go about what remains of life's work, but it isn't easy. I will write you very soon again on other subjects, but at the moment this only is uppermost. Remember me with affection to Lady Macdonald. Where is Bernard this winter? I know *he* will be sorry, for they always were fast friends. This is a selfish letter.

Believe me ever my dear Macdonald,
Your affectionate friend,
John Rose.

From the Marquess of Lorne to Sir John Macdonald.

Kensington Palace.
20 Dec., 1883.

My dear Sir John,

You may like to hear that we have had very satisfactory meetings at Glasgow, Birmingham and London, with a view of increasing the emigration of a desirable class to Canada in the early summer of next year. The ultra Liberal newspapers never attempted in connection with what I had said, to raise the cry of 'No emigration,' but have uniformly spoken of Canada in a very kindly spirit.

People seem much to connect the recent progress of the country with

the opening up by rail of the West, and I do hope the Government will stand firmly at the back of the C.P.R. as it is manifest that that Co. has enough on its hands. Could not the Government subsidise short branch lines in Manitoba? I believe you will have a good rush of people in the early summer, and the announcement of support to new short branch lines would be a great incentive. I hope it is true that Stephen will be able to arrange for through tickets from Quebec to Winnipeg for £2.5.0. Sir A. Galt has been displaying a magnificent column of coal. I have found it to be a great refreshment, in the middle of London gloom, to talk of Canada. * * *

Donald Smith promises to try to keep 'the Globe' in order, as to the railway and the N. W., but I fear the task will be rather beyond him.

Pray remember the Princess and me very kindly to Lady Macdonald. All health, strength and prosperity to you and your duty the coming year!

Believe me, dear Sir John,
Yours very truly,
LORNE.

The Rt. Hon.
Sir J. Macdonald, K.C.B.

The latter part of the year 1883 saw the Canadian Pacific Railway Company involved in serious financial difficulties. This great undertaking, while in strong, resolute and capable hands, found arrayed against it a combination of interests bent upon its ruin. To begin with, the Grand Trunk Railway, at the time influential in Lombard Street, devoted all its powers to injure the credit of its rival in the leading money markets, both of Europe and America. The Hudson's Bay Company were equally hostile to the project, and the charge was freely made at the time that influences inspired by leading members of the Opposition in the Canadian Parliament were not lacking to what looked like a concerted and determined effort to crush the C.P.R. in its inception. As the correspondence here published indicates, the combination came within an ace of accomplishing their purpose. Within two years after the signing of the contract for the building of the railway, the Company, owing to the machinations of its foes, found itself unable to sell its stock or land grant bonds, or to obtain in any other way the money needed for the road. In order to avert such a calamity as the failure of the Company to meet its obligations would entail, the Government, in the Session of 1884, found itself obliged to intervene, and by a loan of $22,500,000 to set the railway on its feet again.

Telegram.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper, London.

Ottawa, 1st December, 1883.

Pacific in trouble. You should be here.

MACDONALD.

Telegram.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

London, 2nd December, 1883.

Sailing on Thursday.

TUPPER.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, 26th Dec., 1883.

DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

Thanks for Major O'Reilly's note which I return. All strange parcels shall be treated respectfully. A very suspicious one arrived this morning, but proved to contain a cheese.

Sovereigns used to keep a highly paid official to taste the Royal viands—Will Parliament vote an adequate salary for a Viceregal functionary to whom will be committed the duty of opening explosive packages?

With all good wishes, I am, dear Sir John Macdonald,

Yours sincerely,

LANSDOWNE.

From George Stephen, Esq. to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Montreal, 5th January, 1884.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have just received the enclosed and send it to you, trusting that you won't mind telling me how I should answer it. The Hudson's Bay Railway, in my judgment, is a humbug—an impossibility—but so far as the C.P.R. is concerned I have no objection to a line to the H. Bay, or for that matter, to the North Pole, if the promoters will put their *own* money into the enterprise. It would be a fatal blunder for the Province of Manitoba to become mixed up with the finance of that, or of any other railway. At least, that is how the matter looks to me. Apart from this, I see no objection to a line being built to H. Bay. I have, since I wrote to you last, found out that we had a narrow squeak with the B. of M. on Wednesday;

Drummond, Alfred Brown and Hamilton (Inkerman) were determined to refuse our application and smash up the whole thing, so far as they were concerned. The three named above are promoters of the H. Bay Railway, but their real opposition to us arises from Hickson's control over them partly, and partly envy, hatred and malice. All this of course is for you only, as the information comes to me in a way I cannot make known.

I am off to N. Y. this afternoon but will be back here on Wednesday morning when I shall hope to have your advice as to my reply to Larivière.

Always yours,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, Tuesday evening.
(22nd January, 1884.)

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am going down in the morning and you may be sure I will do all I can to keep things moving, and in life, till relief arrives, but you must not blame me if I fail. I do not, at the moment, see how we are to get the money to keep the work going, but I will know better what I can do when I get to Montreal, and consult with my colleagues.

If I find we cannot go on, I suppose the only thing to do will be to put in a Receiver. If that has to be done, the quicker it is done the better. Of course I will do nothing without first seeing you.

I am getting so wearied and worn out with this business that almost any change will be a relief to me. Whatever happens, I shall always feel grateful for the readiness which you have throughout shown to help us in every possible way.

Always yours,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Montreal, February 10th, 1884.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I must send you a line to say how grateful I am for your kind and cordial reception of Smith yesterday.[1] He said nothing, but I know he felt a good deal, and I know—without his saying it—that he is to-day a much happier man. The pluck with which he has stood by me in my

[1] Mr. Donald A. Smith, afterwards Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Smith had not spoken since the celebrated scene between them on the floor of the House of Commons nearly six years before, for particulars of which consult Hansard 1878, pp. 2560–2563. At the negotiations which resulted in the agreement to build the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1880, Mr. Smith had to be kept in the background. As might be inferred, circumstances compelled a reconciliation between these two men within a few years, which, as is here disclosed, was largely brought about through the unwearied good offices of their "mutual friend" Mr. Stephen.

efforts to sustain the credit of the C.P.R. made it almost duty on my part to try and restore friendly relations between one who has stood so courageously by the company in its time of trouble, and you, to whom alone the C.P.R. owes its existence as a real Canadian railway. I hope some day this fact will become more generally known than it is now. But for you, the C.P.R. would undoubtedly have terminated at Port Arthur in summer, and the line for six months of the year would have been simply an extension of the American line running up from St. Paul to the international boundary line, in short not a *Canadian* Pacific Railway at all—and the destiny of Canada politically and commercially something very different to that which is now a matter of certainty—unless our people from sheer want of faith throw away their grand inheritance. * * *

Always yours,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Montreal, 31st March, 1884.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

When I saw you the other day, I told you I thought McIntyre could be induced, while resigning his position of Vice President, to continue on the Board as a director. It is now clear that he won't do either. He says he will hold his stock as a shareholder, but won't have any thing to do with the management of the Company. This is a nuisance, but only a nuisance. I can get along without him on the road. But I must get a working Board here, which is not a very easy matter. I have talked over the question with Abbott, and he thinks it would be very easy for you, by adding two or three words to Tupper's Bill, to remove the disability from M.Ps. and Senators. Abbott will tell you his plan. If it can be worked out I shall be glad, as it will facilitate my arrangements. If it cannot, I must do the best I can otherwise.

Always yours,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, May 19th, 1884.

DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

I am very sorry that you should have been called away from Ottawa on what is, I fear, a sorrowful errand.[1]

We start for Kingston on Wednesday, and I shall therefore not have the pleasure of seeing you for some little time. I hope you may be in Quebec during the summer, and that you will look in upon us in the Citadel.

I should have liked to tell you before I left how much I had appreciated your kindness to me during my first official season. The arrival of a new

[1] Probably the illness of his sister, Miss Macdonald, who died in 1888.

Governor must involve a good deal of extra trouble to the Prime Minister, particularly if the Governor happens to take an interest in Canadian affairs as great as that which I am learning to feel. From this addition to your anxieties, you will for awhile be relieved by my absence from the Capital.

I sent the cablegram to the Duke of Cambridge this morning.

Lord Derby sent me a message answering in the affirmative my enquiry whether I might announce that the Queen's commands as to her birthday had reference to official celebrations only. This will relieve the minds of the holiday folk. It would have been better if we had not sent the message in its entirety to the papers at first.

Believe me, dear Sir John Macdonald,
Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, May 20th, 1884.

DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

I have looked at the designs for a Canadian Coat of Arms. I am afraid that I cannot even offer a plausible suggestion for the solution of the difficulty. If we wish to get the matter settled *secundum artem*, I fear there is nothing for it but a reference to the Heralds' College at home. I am not a great believer in that august body, but they represent, I suppose, the highest authority in such questions.

The only observation which it occurs to me to make is that a shield with the quarterings of all the Provinces (Assiniboia &c., will want to come in hereafter) will look like a tesselated pavement. If such a shield is indispensable, could there not be over and above it a national shield representing the arms of the Dominion alone, and devised with a view to dignified simplicity?

Will you, when you have time, tell me or let some one send me a memo. of the end of the Manitoban delegation.

I am, dear Sir John Macdonald,
Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Ottawa, June 4th, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,

I cabled you that the Hon. M. Solomon[1] of Jamaica

[1] The Hon. Michael Solomon, an elected member of the Legislative Council of Jamaica, who visited Canada in 1885, with the object of sounding the statesmen of the Dominion on the question of political union between that Colony and Canada.

would call upon you on the subject of confederation with Canada. It cannot come to anything, but still we should hear what they have to say, as it is a high compliment to Canada to have such a desire to join her political system coming from other Colonies.

Singularly enough, through Sir Francis Hincks, enquiries were made last week from Barbados as to whether we would take them in. Hincks agrees with me that it would not do. You should contrive to let Lord Derby and the Cabinet know all this. It will serve to show them our growing importance.

I suppose you will introduce Mr. Solomon to Tilley and Macpherson. * * *

The crops are looking well, although a severe frost last week has done some damage.

Campbell is looking ill and depressed. Langevin and Chapleau getting on together pretty well.

With kind regards to Lady Tupper,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir C. Tupper.

Sir John Macdonald's political prescience is well illustrated in the following letter, written many months before the outbreak of Riel's second uprising in the Northwest, in the spring of 1885.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. J. C. Aikins.[1]

Private & Confidential.

Rivière du Loup, 7th July, 1884.

MY DEAR AIKINS,

I don't think that Lt. Governors should leave their Provinces without permission of the Governor-General. I am expecting a question from Lord Lansdowne on the matter, if he should happen to hear of your absence. Remember that he himself can't cross the line without leave from Lord Derby. In ordinary cases there will be no

[1] The Hon. James Cox Aikins, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. See also Sir John's letter to Mr. Donald A. Smith, dated 5th September, 1884, p. 320.

difficulty on application by letter or telegraph to get leave of absence—but the form should be gone through. At this moment Riel[1] has gone into the North West on the invitation of the halfbreeds, and requires to be watched. One cannot foresee what he may do, or what they, under his advice, may do. But should there be any agitation, it will of necessity extend to the halfbreeds of Manitoba and will be encouraged by the demagogues of the Farmers' Union. Norquay has sent me a copy of an intercepted letter from one Howes to Purvis, the President of the Union, urging an immediate rising and seizure of the stores and arms, and saying the Militia are mere boys, and that there are, in fact, no means of resisting them. I have taken steps to secure the arms, and will have a force ready, if necessary, and all this time you are absent from your post, and no Administrator has been appointed in your stead.

Always my dear Aikins,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Lt. Governor Aikins,
66 Gerard Street,
Toronto.

Sir Charles Tupper had recently relinquished the portfolio of Railways and Canals and returned to England with the object of devoting himself exclusively to the position of High Commissioner for Canada in London, to which he had been temporarily appointed on the 1st June, 1883, without salary, thus permitting him to retain his cabinet office and his seat in Parliament. The date of the confirmatory appointment is 24th May, 1884. This letter is written shortly after his arrival in London.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

9, Victoria Chambers,
London, S. W.,
8th July, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I duly received your letter of the 4th ultimo, and have since had a visit from Mr. Solomon and Mr. Ashley, the Chairman of the Jamaica Board

[1] Louis Riel, instigator and leader of two halfbreed risings in the Northwest Territories. Executed for high treason at Regina, 16th November, 1885.

here. I told them that Canada would warmly favour anything to promote the interests of Jamaica, consistent with its own—that I saw many and serious obstacles in the way—all of which would receive careful consideration in case a formal proposal for union was made by Jamaica. I discussed the subject with Lord Derby, who seemed much impressed by the fact that both Jamaica and Barbados were thinking of federation with Canada. * * *

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
CHARLES TUPPER.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. J. C. Aikins.

Private.

Rivière du Loup,
28th July, 1884.

MY DEAR AIKINS,

Thanks for your favour of the 13th instant.

The prospect of a good harvest in Manitoba must, as you say, have the effect of allaying the discontent in a considerable degree. You, however, will not have much peace until there is a public opinion—a real opinion formed by a body of well-to-do settlers.

For a time the land jobbers and speculators hanging about Winnipeg and the paper towns scattered over your Province, joined to such agitators as Greenway, will pretend to represent the public feeling.

Norquay sent me confidentially an intercepted letter showing a plot of these Farmer's Union Agitators to rise in arms. I presume he mentioned it to you. Certainly, if he did not, it was a breach of duty as your adviser. I don't attach much importance to these plots, but my experience of the Fenian business has taught me that one should never disbelieve the evidence of plots or intended raids, merely because they are foolish and certain to fail.

In the North West we have certain uneasy elements, to wit:—

1. The Farmer's Union Agitators.
2. The French half breeds, advised by Riel.
3. The Indian element headed by such Indian loafers as Big Bear, Piapot, etc.

The last—the Indian element—is not to be dreaded unless

there is a white or half breed rising. If this should ever happen, the Indians would be apt to join any insurgent body.

I write this as I think you should urge your Ministers to be alive to the situation and take all necessary precautions.

By the way, I hope you press, not only on your Ministers but upon the M. P.'s supporting the Government, the necessity of agreeing to the liberal terms offered by the Government here. Never was there such folly as the refusal of those terms. In a former letter I cited the cases of Nova Scotia and British Columbia, neither of which Provinces made any objection to giving the required receipt. In the case of Nova Scotia, Blake insisted on its being put in the Act granting Better Terms.

Remember, you hold the same position as a Dominion officer as the Governor-General does under the Imperial Government—the Governor-General for the time being always does what he can, without infringing on the principle of self-government, to urge the carrying out of the Imperial policy. Go and do thou likewise!

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. J. C. Aikins.

From Sir John Macdonald to George Stephen, Esq.

Rivière du Loup.
28th July, 1884.

MY DEAR STEPHEN,—

In 1879 I had some correspondence with the manager of a Japan Steam Line Company which is largely subsidized by the Government there. I have not got this correspondence here, and shan't be able to get at it until my return to Ottawa.

I understand that this Company is in effect a government line. According to the best of my recollection, I wrote in answer that I thought until your railway was nearly completed to the Pacific Ocean, it would be premature to take up this subject. I think however now that it would be well for you to consider the matter. Any subsidy granted by the Dominion Government would be principally for the sake of managing an Asiatic trade for the C.P.R. and it would be [well] that your railway should have some control over the

line. I think therefore that the proper plan would be for the establishment of a line to be under the joint control of the Mitsu Bishi Company of Japan and your railway. The Dominion Government would encourage such joint line by a reasonable subsidy for carrying the mails to Hong-Kong and Yokohama.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

George Stephen, Esq.,
Montreal.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia

Private.

Rivière du Loup,
29th July, 1884.

MY DEAR RICHEY,

I don't exactly understand the snarl your Ministry have got into. It appears that Mr. Pipes resigned his office and position as Premier—that, he had a constitutional right to do, whatever may be thought of the fairness of his conduct towards his colleagues.

On his resignation, the Government, or rather the Ministry was, *ipso facto*, dissolved, and you were free, as Lt. Governor, to send for whom you pleased.

The absolute, uncontrolled right to choose a Premier is, according to Bagehot and other late constitutional writers, the only *personal* prerogative remaining to the Sovereign.

On such occasions the Crown may or may not ask the retiring Premier whom he should send for, and when the advice is given he may or may not follow it.

The person charged with the formation of a new Ministry, is not bound to accept or continue any of the members composing the old administration. He is and ought to be perfectly unshackled. I know nothing of what has occurred with you except from the newspapers which do not give a very intelligible account of the proceedings.

It would appear however from the statements made, as if Mr. Pipes has assumed the *right* to name his successor, and that you had assented to it. I am sure this is a mistake, and that you have not given away your prerogative. If you have

time I shall be obliged by your letting me know how things are moving.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Honour
Lt. Governor Richey.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne.

Les Rochers,
St. Patrick,
Rivière du Loup.
August 12/84.

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,

I have your note of the 9th. Dewdney has sent his Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Hayter Reed, and Mr. Rouleau, Stipendiary Magistrate, to Duck Lake to see the Indians and half breeds. Reed knows the Indian character well, speaks Cree and is popular among them. Rouleau is a French Canadian lawyer of a good deal of ability; he will see Riel and the half breeds. M. Forget, Clerk of the N. W. Council, also a Frenchman, is a man on whom Dewdney relies. He has been sent on general business to Prince Albert, but is to keep his eyes and ears open. He knows the Northwest well.

The surveys of the River lots are I think completed. The most liberal instructions have been given as to dealing with them. As to the half breed claims for land, the case stands thus. When the Province of Manitoba was formed, it was arranged that all the holdings of the people, white or mixed, given or permitted by the Hudson's Bay Co. along the Red River and Assiniboine should be recognized. This was carried out and land scrip issued to the complete satisfaction of the half breeds there. But the French half breed won't farm (the English and Scotch half breed will). They sold their scrip at a great sacrifice, and spent the money in debauchery.

The Indians and half breeds on the Northwest plains west of Manitoba had never any holdings and were mere

nomads roaming over the prairie with the Indians and living by hunting and as carriers of goods in little carts. Both hunting and carting have ceased and they are starving. Among them are the Red River half breeds, who, impatient of civilization, left Manitoba after having squandered their land scrip, and are now on the plains. They have told the others of the scrip and the enjoyment they had on the proceeds of sale, and have incited them to make claim for scrip. Now these plains half breeds have been told that they have the choice of going with father or mother as whitemen or Indians. If they claim as whitemen, they can get their homestead of 160 acres free on cultivation. If as Indians, they can join their mother's band and get their share of its reserve and of the annuities and presents secured to them by Treaty. The land sharks that abound in the N. W. urge on the half breed to demand, in addition, scrip to the same amount as granted to those in Manitoba. The scrip is sold for a song to the sharks and spent in whiskey, and this we desire above all things to avoid. I think the true policy is rather to encourage them to specify their grievances in memorials and send them with or without delegations to Ottawa. This will allow time for the present effervescence to subside, and on the approach of winter the climate will keep things quiet until next spring. Meanwhile all the complaints that have a semblance of foundation will be treated liberally.

It would not do to *nominate* Riel as a Councillor. He committed a cold-blooded murder in 1870 which will never be forgotten by the whites, either in Manitoba or Ontario. But if he can induce the people of his district to elect him as their representative no one will object. Rouleau will see Riel, and with Père André endeavour to convince him that his interests lie on the side of peace. We may expect full accounts from André of the proceedings at Prince Albert and Duck Lake.

Your Excellency speaks about employing some picked men among the half breeds. We do so already. There are a certain number of men attached to the Mounted Police force as scouts, and others as interpreters.

I think I shall anticipate the vote of Parliament and add somewhat to the Police, perhaps 100 men, and take power

next Session to raise it in all by 250 men, making the force of non-commissioned officers and men 750, besides scouts and artificers.

I intend to remain here if possible until the first week of September, if nothing particular calls me away sooner, but I can run up to Quebec at any time should Your Excellency desire to see me.

Believe me,
dear Lord Lansdowne,
faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

The Citadel,
Quebec, August 13th, 1884.

DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

Thanks for your letter of yesterday's date. I reproach myself with giving you the trouble of writing out the history of these questions (relative to affairs in the Northwest Territories), but as long as you are kind enough to respond so readily, you must expect me to be inquisitive. The more I learn of these matters, the more I am struck by the intricacy of the problem we have to deal with. It is, I think, immensely to the credit of the Dominion that, so far, these questions should have been disposed of without scandal or discredit.

Messrs. Reed, Rouleau and Forget[1] ought to be able to gauge the situation pretty accurately. Mr. Rouleau will, I daresay, be able to make Riel understand that he has more to gain personally and as a public man by confining himself to the legitimate ventilation of the grievances of his clients, than by leading a disorderly movement. In the course of the next few weeks he will be almost forced to show which rôle he means to prefer.

I certainly did not intend to suggest that the Government should give him a place in the Council, but in reference to Bishop Grandin's observation (or was it Père André's?) that the half breeds wished him to have a place in the Council or to be given a senatorship, I said that I should prefer to see him a Councillor. The murder of Scott is, as you point out, too recent to admit of complete amnesty on the part of the authorities.

I am very glad that you propose to strengthen the police without waiting for another session. No one under the circumstances can call in question the expediency of what you will do.

[1] Amédée Emmanuel Forget, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories; later, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan, and at present (1920) a Senator of Canada. Was in 1884 Clerk of the Northwest Council. Charles Borromée Rouleau was in 1884 a member of the Northwest Council.

I return Mr. Porter's telegram—It is a little vague, but looks as if the movement was taking the right direction.

If you were likely to be in or near Quebec on the 30th September, I should ask you to dine here on that day when some of the "great guns" of the British Association are to come here. I am sure they will be much pleased to meet you. If you are not going to Montreal, you might find this an easy way of shaking hands with some of the itinerant philosophers.

I am, dear Sir John Macdonald,
Yours sincerely
LANSDOWNE.

From George Stephen, Esq. to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal, 19th August, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

McKenzie[1] wired me yesterday as follows: "Mount Stephen, B. C., I heartily congratulate you on the wonderful work accomplished. Our trip exceedingly pleasant."

I am getting our paper to publish this. It is to some extent an answer to the vile attacks of the *Globe*. Here is a note from Goldwin on the subject; you see what he says of—— * * *

Always yours,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

From Sir John Macdonald to Donald A. Smith, Esq.
Rivière du Loup.
September 5th, 1884.

Private.

DEAR MR. SMITH,

There have been, as you know, rumours more or less well founded, of discontent among the half breeds about Battleford and Duck Lake—and some talk of concert between them and the Indians.

I don't attach much importance to these rumours, but there is no harm in taking precautions.

The accommodations for the Mounted Police at Battleford are limited, and I have some idea of strengthening the force there. There is scarcely time to run up an additional

[1] The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, *ex* Prime Minister of Canada.

building this season—and it may not be necessary to go to the expense of a permanent barrack there. Mr. White,[1] the Comptroller of the Police Force, suggests in the enclosed memo, that perhaps the Hudson's Bay Company might allow us the use of their buildings at Carlton for the winter. I write you privately, as it is not well that any intelligence should go to the Northwest of our intention to increase the Force in advance. If the Company could lend or rent us the buildings, which I am informed are not much used just now, possession could be taken without previous notice to any one.

I should be glad to hear from you on this subject and remain,

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Donald A. Smith,
Montreal.

In addition to stories of discontent among the halfbreeds of the Northwest, rumours reached the Government about this time of a plot to bring about the independence of the Province of Manitoba and its annexation to the United States. Sir John Macdonald, while not attaching too much importance to these reports, considered it his duty to make some general enquiries into them. With that object in view, he instructed the Hon. William McDougall to visit Manitoba, and Mr. McDougall's relative, Mr. Wiman, to perform a like office in the United States. How much value he attached to the latter's sensational report may be inferred from his acknowledgment of Mr. Wiman's letter of the 6th September, 1884, both of which are printed below. Time proved the soundness of his estimate, and showed Pew's stories to be a mass of exaggeration and misrepresentation, without serious foundation.

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[1] Lt. Colonel Frederick White, C.M.G., Private Secretary to Sir John Macdonald (1880–1882); Comptroller of the Royal North West Mounted Police from 1878 to 1913, when he retired; appointed Commissioner of the Northwest Territories 1905. Died, 27th September, 1918. A man upon whom Sir John implicitly relied.

From Erastus Wiman, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

New York, September 6th, 1884.

Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,
Rivière du Loup, Canada.

My dear Sir John,

Your telegram received, in which you instruct me to proceed with the investigation regarding Mr. Pew's[1] attempts to capture for the United States the Northwestern Territories.

I have kept Mr. Pew on a string until I have heard from you. His object in coming to me is to take advantage of my local knowledge of Canadian matters on the one hand, and my acquaintance and influence with New York parties possessed of means and political influence, on the other. He has been led to believe that I could introduce him to good parties who have plenty of money, and who would not be unwilling to take a considerable risk in the expectation of a great profit and in the hope of some political advantage. His first desire was to get $200,000 of which $50,000 was to go to the Canadian Government to pay for certain lands in the Porcupine Hills timber limits, and which he was to pledge as personal security towards the loan. But this he has abandoned, and now only wants $150,000—$100,000 to go for the purchase of the three papers in Manitoba, the *Times*, the *Sun* and the *Free Press*. He says positively he has arranged with Norquay[2] to accept one million of dollars in the bonds of the new state, an earnest of which is to be $20,000 paid in cash. He assures me that this is a positive arrangement with Norquay, who is quite ready to take action and bring with him four of his ministers into the independent movement. I have pumped Pew as well as I could without revealing my motive, and my stenographer took from his lips yesterday a statement which I asked him to make so that I could submit it to good parties here. I enclose you a copy of it. It is very long and desultory, but contains much that perhaps will interest you. It certainly would interest many parties here. I had difficulty to keep him down to detail as he kept *preaching* all the time, rather than revealing who were his confederates, and what help he expected to get.

He positively avers that he had an interview with Mr. Blake and Sir Richard Cartwright and laid the whole scheme before them, and that Sir Richard's utterances in Manitoba will be in favour of independence, and will confirm the attitude he is taking.

It appears that Pew was first led to take action in regard to the United States by Mr. S. J. Ritchie,[3] of Akron, Ohio, who is President of the Central Ontario Railroad Company, a slip regarding which I enclose. You

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[1] A promoter of that day, an American who affected to possess influence with the Washington politicians.

[2] The Hon. John Norquay, at that time Premier of Manitoba.

[3] A United States promoter, interested specially in iron and nickel mining.

will see that G. W. McMullen,[1] whom you well know, is Vice-President. Mr. Ritchie, it appears, was accompanied by Mr. Payne, of Cleveland, a Senator of the United States, and a man of great influence and wealth. He is connected with the Standard Oil Company and can control very large sums of money. Mr. Payne and Ritchie introduced Pew to some of the most prominent politicians in Washington, and he has shown me copies of letters of introduction which were extremely warm. Senator Sherman took the matter up with considerable interest, as did also Speaker Carlisle of the House of Representatives, and numerous other parties. These gentlemen introduced Mr. Pew to Judge J. J. Lawrence, the First Comptroller of the Treasury, a well known and prominent public man here, a good lawyer, and in many respects a very able man. It was Judge Lawrence who sketched out the plan as proposed in the enclosed memorandum.

I have told Mr. Pew that, in order to interest any friends of mine, I must be thoroughly informed regarding the whole matter. As I had business in Washington in relation to a patent, I proposed that he should accompany me there, introducing me to Judge Lawrence and enabling me to get all the particulars possible. I leave to-night for that purpose, and will report to you further the day after to-morrow. Pew can be held on a string here for ten days. He says he must leave here the latter end of this week for Manitoba, and if he fails in getting the money, the whole thing will drop out, as he most assuredly will. He seems, however, to have access to some good people here, and, as he has telegraphed to Mr. Payne for letters of introduction to the Standard Oil people, it is just possible that he may get the money he needs. He offers one million dollars of these bonds for $150,000 cash, and I enclose you in his own writing a memorandum of a plan which he proposes by which I shall advance him $1,000,000 and hold for him another million, receiving a million myself. It makes one's head swim to think of dealing so glibly with such vast sums, with the possibility of the guarantee of the United States behind them. Pew seems to conceal nothing, and the only suspicion attaching to the whole thing is that having met nobody who opposes him, and everybody having agreed to follow the movement, he is probably being imposed upon in the same way that I am imposing upon him.

I shall see some members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in both House and Senate, and ascertain whether anything has ever come up in that body regarding this matter.

A strong point that Pew makes is that if by the 1st of November of this year the money can be secured, the project can be worked out and no interference from the Dominion or England be possible until the opening of navigation. This is the golden time and it must be seized upon, and if it is allowed to pass, the country will be lost to the United States for ever. I have introduced Pew to a number of my friends, and they have talked over the matter with him. Strange to say, quite a number of them feel greatly interested, and one or two of them would not be disinclined to help him.

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[1] G. W. McMullen was one of the principal instruments employed in 1873 by the originators of the Pacific Railway scandal.

Of course I do not reveal my hand, and he is quite encouraged in the belief that an agent will be sent to Manitoba before ten days are out, with the money necessary to buy the press and fix Norquay and his ministers, and generally prepare the way for a definite and successful independent movement.

Forgive my prolixity, but I presume you want to know all the facts, and with that in view I send you everything I can recall, in order that you may be possessed of the whole situation. You do not know how much pleasure it gives me to do you any service. I have had great kindness and confidence shown me by the members of your Government and by yourself, and I esteem it a great pleasure to be of the slightest use to you here. Pray command me and all my resources at all times.

I am,
Faithfully yours,
ERASTUS WIMAN.[1]

From Sir John Macdonald to Erastus Wiman, Esq.,

Les Rochers,
Rivière du Loup,
Private. *11th September, 1884.*

MY DEAR MR. WIMAN,

Thanks for yours of the 6th instant. I can quite understand Pew's mode of action. He goes to Washington and exaggerates the state of feeling in Manitoba. Most probably the gentlemen he sees receive him politely and say they will be very glad if Canada can be induced to join the Union. With this statement he proceeds to Winnipeg and pursues the same course of exaggeration. I don't believe a word of his statement about Mr. Blake and Sir Richard Cartwright. The latter has expressed his belief in the future independence of Canada, but that is all. Neither of them would countenance for a moment anything like a rising in arms. I shall look forward with interest to your promised communications after visiting Washington.

I shall be at Ottawa after this week.

[1] Erastus Wiman, originally a Canadian whose business took him to the United States, of which country he, in later life, became a citizen. At the date of this letter Mr. Wiman filled the office of President of the Great North West Telegraph Company, besides being connected with various business enterprises in New York. He enjoyed the distinction of being the originator (in 1887-8) of the movement for Commercial Union between the United States and Canada, which under the name of Unrestricted Reciprocity, was taken up by the Liberal party in Canada, and formed their battle-cry in the General Elections of 1891.

I need not say how much I am obliged to you for the interest you take in this matter.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Erastus Wiman, Esq.,
314 Broadway,
New York City.

From Sir John Macdonald to Fred White, Esq., Comptroller North West Mounted Police

Rivière du Loup,
15th September, 1884.

Enclosure.

MY DEAR WHITE,

I send you copies of two cypher telegrams from Mr. Dewdney from which it would appear that the situation is getting serious. Mr. Dewdney, as Lt. Governor, is responsible for the peace of his Territory, and therefore you must take, in great measure, instructions from him. Will you at once make preparations with respect to the guns of which he speaks. I think that Irvine[1] must be ordered to take instructions from Mr. Dewdney during the present exigency. All instructions given by the latter to Irvine should be repeated in cypher to Ottawa with his remarks.

I shall (D.V.) arrive at Ottawa at mid-day on Wednesday. You had better see me in the afternoon and make all ready to go up yourself.

I wish you would think over the expediency of our advertising for fifty men from Ontario. We will, I suppose, after harvest be able to get fifty at Winnipeg without difficulty. It seems to me that it would be well to advertise that one of the requirements is that the recruits should know how to ride. Remember until they sit easily in their saddles, they are comparatively useless. I don't apprehend myself any rising, but with these warnings it would be criminal negligence not to take every precaution.

Yours always,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

F. White, Esq.,
Ottawa.

[1] Lt. Colonel A. G. Irvine, from 1880 to 1886 Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Francis Hincks.

Private.

Ottawa,
18th September, 1884.

My dear Hincks,

We had yesterday a visit from the Hon. Michael Solomon, one of the Legislative Council of Jamaica. He came, as you may suppose, about a political union of the Island with Canada. His visit was informal as he had no authority from his Government to see us, but he was authorized by the Standing Committee of West India proprietors in London to take Canada on his way home and see how the land lies with us. We told him that we had not given the subject much consideration, but were ready to hear what he had to say. All he wants from us now is to say that we would be ready to discuss the subject with a delegation from the Island. I told him that the permission of Her Majesty's Government must first be obtained. That, he said, could be easily procured, as Lord Derby had signified his assent in advance, and that he would take steps to get his Government to ask for the permission on his arrival at Kingston.

We shall probably inform Mr. Solomon that we shall have no objection to discussing the subject of a political union or of a tariff arrangement, either by correspondence or the receipt of a delegation, without in any way expressing our opinion on either. I have seen the articles in the ——,* which I presume are from your pen. At all events, I know that you must have considered the subject, and I should like much to get the benefit of your advice.

The commercial union would be valuable, but I dread the political future which a union opens to us—the negro question, defence, etc., etc.

I should like to have it so arranged that you could run up here at some time convenient to us both, and discuss the question in all its bearings, with my colleagues and myself.

Let me know what you can do to help us with your valuable counsel.

Yours very sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

Sir Francis Hincks, K.C.M.G.,

* Word indecipherable.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Michael Solomon.

Ottawa, 25th September, 1884.

DEAR MR. SOLOMON,

Since we had the pleasure of seeing you here, the subject of your unofficial mission has been discussed in Council. We are of opinion that the question of a political union is one surrounded with difficulties which may however prove not to be insuperable. Our information is exceedingly limited and we are therefore not in a position to express any decided opinion on the subject. If Her Majesty's Government give their consent, the Government of Canada will be quite ready to enter upon the consideration of the two important questions, first of a political union and, failing that, of a commercial arrangement.

The discussion of the subject can be had, either by letter or with a delegation from your Government. Meanwhile, we shall be very much obliged to you if you will send us such publications relating to Jamaica in the way of Blue Books as are available.

We should also like to get copies of your tariff and of your customs and excise laws.

I remain,
Dear Mr. Solomon,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Michael Solomon,
Jamaica.

From Maj.-General Sir John M'Neill to George Stephen.

Private.

Balmoral Castle,
17 Nov., 1884.

DEAR STEPHEN,

I do not wish the matter mentioned, but you will be glad to hear that Sir John Macdonald is to be made a G.C.B. and I have good grounds for believing that H.M. will have him down to Windsor and decorate him Herself, so it is as well that he did not think of starting on the 22nd. We leave for Windsor on Wednesday so I shall see you before you sail.

Yours very sincerely,
JOHN C. M'NEILL.

Keep it dark.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Private and
Confidential. *Ottawa, 24th December, 1884.*

My dear Tupper,

I telegraphed you yesterday to watch closely the negotiations between England and the United States in British West India matters, and I got Lord Lansdowne to telegraph confidentially to Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice suggesting that you should be consulted with reference to that matter. The reason I did so is that the Governor-General has confidentially told me that the negotiations had made considerable progress under Mr. West. I had his permission to mention it to Tilley and only to him. If the arrangements proposed by the United States are carried out, it cuts Canada off from the West India trade.

I, however, told Lord Lansdowne that you had received distinct assurances, both from the Colonial and Foreign Offices, that no preference would be given to the British West Indies as against Canada.

You will see by the papers that I had an overwhelming demonstration in Toronto on the occasion of my fortieth anniversary of public life. There has never been anything of the kind in Canada approaching it in magnificence or significance. Forty thousand men from all the Provinces assembled there. At the banquet there were some 1,300 guests and about 1,000 went away unable to get tickets.

There will be another demonstration in Montreal next month, not political, but social, to myself on my seventieth birthday.

Parliament meets on the 29th January. I fear I shall miss you very much during the course of the session; however it can't be helped.

Yours sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, K.C.M.G.,
9 Victoria Street,
London, S. W., England.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, Christmas Day, 1884.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I found that the mail left so early, and that my clerk was so anxious to get home to his turkey, that I gave up the idea of sending off the despatch to-day.

Besides, the matter is really a serious one, and I wish to be very careful what I write.

I appreciate entirely the force of your argument against allowing Arthur[1] a voice in the matter of the 'bays.'

I should like you to see the draft of the despatch, and I will send it down to you to-morrow.

A great many thanks for your kindly words. I return your good wishes very heartily, and look back with pleasant feelings to the 'reciprocity' which has been in force between Earnscliffe and Government House during the past year.

Please present my *hommages* to Lady Macdonald, and believe me,

Yours sincerely,

LANSDOWNE.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

9, Victoria Chambers,
London, S. W., January 8th, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have read with great interest the proceedings at Toronto.[2] They were worthy of the occasion, but you were richly entitled to the magnificent demonstration that was made. I am sure you cannot fail to be deeply impressed with your importance, not only to the party, but to the country. I trust your life may long be spared, and your health enable you to continue to give to Canada the invaluable benefit of your guiding hand.

I have always been looking forward to our attaining a position so advanced and strong, that you might be spared further toil and exertion, but the necessity for your continuance at the head of public affairs seems every day to increase.

I have written you fully on treaty matters, and have only time to wish you and yours many happy returns of the New Year.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

[1] Chester A. Arthur, at that date President of the United States. This is a reference to the vexed question as to whether, in the case of bays upwards of 6 miles in width at the entrance, our territorial waters, in which U. S. fishermen were forbidden to fish, should be measured from the shores of the bays, following the sinuosities of the coast, or from a line joining the headlands at the entrance to such bays.

[2] On the occasion of a demonstration held in December, 1884, to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Sir John Macdonald's entrance into public life.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, 11th January, 1885.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

Let me add my congratulations to the many which you will receive this morning.[1]

We shall drink your health and wish you good luck and as much happiness as the life of a Prime Minister permits.

Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

The relief furnished by the Government to the Canadian Pacific Railway in the session of 1884 proved but temporary. The Company's enemies redoubled their efforts, and within a twelvemonth the C. P. R. was again appealing to the Government for aid. The proposal to make further advances to the road was ill-received, not merely by the Parliamentary opposition, but also by many Government supporters, and even in the Cabinet itself. Mr. McLelan, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, actually resigned office. Sir Alexander Campbell, the Minister of Justice, and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs, were against further aid being given. Nor was this surprising. The situation appeared to fulfil to the letter the prophecies of the Opposition when the first loan was under consideration by Parliament. "Loan to the C. P. R.", observed Mr. Edward Blake, "Don't call it a loan. You know we shall never see a penny of this money again", and much more to the same effect.

The question hung in the balance. As the Duke of Wellington said of Waterloo, "it was a d—d near thing!" There was a time when, I believe, Sir John Macdonald, though personally most friendly to the proposal, had almost, if not quite, made up his mind that it could not be carried out, at all events during that session. Fortunately both for the Company and the country, wiser counsels ultimately prevailed. Largely due, it is said, to the indefatigable and persistent efforts of the late John Henry Pope

[1] Sir John Macdonald's seventieth birthday.

and Sir Frank Smith, the latter at that time a member of the Cabinet without portfolio, the question was re-considered at the last hour, with the result that the Government in the Session of 1885 came down to Parliament with a bill to advance the Canadian Pacific Railway Company a further sum of five million dollars. With no very good grace the Ministerial supporters swallowed the pill. The measure, after an acrimonious and unpleasant debate, became law. To use Mr. Stephen's expression, it "saved the life of the Company", and the efforts of the great railway's enemies were again brought to nought. The supplementary aid proved sufficient. Both loans were promptly paid off at maturity, and the Canadian Pacific fairly launched upon its career of prosperity that has made it one of the greatest railway corporations in the world.

Gratitude is not commonly supposed to be a striking characteristic of corporations in general, or of railway corporations in particular, but the Canadian Pacific Railway must indeed be singularly lacking in that quality if it does not hold in grateful and abiding remembrance the names of George Stephen, John Alexander Macdonald, and Charles Tupper.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, January 24th, 1885.

Private and Confidential.

My dear Tupper,

Thanks for your congratulations. The meeting at Toronto was magnificent, 4,000 representative men from every constituency in Ontario were there—the very first men of the Province. The enthusiasm was wild. At the following banquet 1,100 dined, 200 were in the gallery, and at least 1,000 could not get seats.

This was followed in a few days by Lennox being carried and our redeeming the only county we lost since the general election. The affair at Montreal was of a different character but equally satisfactory. French and English vied with

each other. Two miles of torches on a dark soft night, with the air filled with coloured fireworks wherever we went. The whole people of the city in the streets, and some 15,000 in the new Drill Hall. The banquet a marvel of skill and decoration.

So far so well. The other side of the picture is dark. Geo. Stephen says the C. P. R. must go down unless sustained. In Council, Campbell, McLelan and Bowell opposed to relief. McLelan has given notice of resignation. Tom White writes it cannot be carried, and the press, already alarmed, beginning to sound the tocsin. I myself fear that the *Week* is right when it says that however docile our majority, we dare not ask for another loan. The thing is hung up until next week. How it will end, I don't know.

I received your cable yesterday and answered it about a Spanish Treaty.

I don't think that where a reciprocity Treaty is made between two countries, a third nation, having a treaty containing the favoured nation clause with one of the two others, can claim the same privileges as if it were party to the Reciprocity Treaty. The contrary doctrine is now much discussed in the American papers and is used as an argument against the ratifying of the several treaties before Congress. It would never do to allow any nation having a favoured nation arrangement with England, to enjoy the privileges we might give (for a reciprocal consideration) to France, Spain or the Spanish Antilles. This point should be finally settled if possible.

Parliament opens here on Thursday next, 29th. I am sorry to say Tilley is not well and Campbell not over well. He says he (Campbell) is to retire next summer.

Always yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

140 Drummond Street,
9th February, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

You will, ere this, have heard otherwise that in addition to finding the $650,000 to pay the dividend, we (Smith and I) have had to endorse a 5 months' note for one million dollars to provide the Company with current

funds to keep it going for the next few weeks. It is necessary you should know this, as in some quarters there is a feeling that we do not do as much for the Company as we might, the real truth being that what Smith and I have done and are doing individually, is simply absurd on any kind of business grounds. I venture to say that there is not a business man in all Canada, knowing the facts, but would say we were a couple of fools for our pains. But as long as we are able to save and protect the Company against its enemies who seem bent on its destruction, we shall not grudge any risk or loss that may occur. Personal interests have become quite a secondary affair with either of us. I hope *you* know and have seen enough to convince you of that, and being convinced yourself, you may be able to lead others to take the same view.

After what we have done and are doing, it is killing to have any of our friends think we are simply doing our bare duty by the Company and are making money out of it.

I am going up this evening, and shall hope to see you sometime to-morrow for a minute about North Shore matters about which I had a chat with Chapleau yesterday. Abbott is gone this morning to stay.

It is most important that no time be lost in arriving at a decision as to the rearrangement scheme, the three months' notes given a month ago to satisfy clamorous creditors will soon become due, and we must be prepared to meet them or——. Another reason for avoiding delay is that I am not *sure* of *myself* being able to stand the strain for an indefinite time. I have had warnings of which nobody knows but myself which I will fight against and conceal to the last.

Always yours,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, 17th, Feb., 1885.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

There is evidently a misapprehension, probably occasioned by private telegrams and newspaper rumours, as to the extent to which we are prepared to take part in the Soudan Expedition. A letter which I wrote by last Monday's mail will, I think, put Lord Derby fully in possession of the facts. Your answer to Sir C. Tupper is exactly in accordance with what I have said.[1]

The "terms" which volunteers might accept, can only be conjectured until the experiment has been tried.

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[1] For Sir John Macdonald's views on the expediency of Canada's taking part in the Soudan Expedition, see his letter to Sir Charles Tupper within, dated 12th March, 1885, p. 337.

Sir Charles knows the amount of training which a Canadian militia man undergoes. Any special equipment needed would, I assume, be supplied by the Imperial authorities.

Yours sincerely,

LANSDOWNE.

From Sir Charles Tupper, to Sir John Macdonald.

9, Victoria Chambers,
London, February 18th, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have kept you advised by cable of the Australasian offers made to the Government of aid in the Soudan. I would have been glad if Canada had taken the matter up a little more warmly, as I think it was a good opportunity of making a good impression upon the public mind here. As it is, we stand very well. I wish you had kept me a little better informed as to the views of the Government, as I ought not to be dependent upon the Colonial Office for such information. I am to respond at the banquet of the Chamber of Commerce to-morrow night, and will try to make a point. Sir R. Herbert told me last night that all the force that could be utilized at present was provided, but that the Canadian contingent might be required later. I expect an official statement from the Colonial Office to-day. I think it would be well if you could make the offer to *pay* the men while on service, and you might send the permanent force who would be thus rendered more efficient. Forster has just been in to see me about it. He says it would be easy to turn out the Government, if the Conservatives had a man who had the confidence of the country. As it is, I am satisfied that the Government will have to make a very explicit statement as to the control of the Soudan.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne.

Ottawa, 23rd February, 1885.

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,

I mentioned to Your Excellency some time ago that I thought the chief judges of the Superior Courts in Canada had been overlooked by Her Majesty's Government since the confederation of the Provinces in 1867 in the distribution of honours. Before that time, knighthoods had frequently been conferred upon them. Within my own

recollection, two chief justices in Upper Canada, now Ontario, namely, Sir William Campbell and Sir James McAulay, were knighted, and a baronetcy given to Sir John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. In Lower Canada, now Quebec, Chief Justices Stuart and Lafontaine were made baronets. In Nova Scotia Chief Justice Young, and in Prince Edward Island Chief Justice Hodgson were knighted.

The courts in the several Provinces have not lost their importance or the extent of their jurisdiction by the Union, and the population and wealth of these Provinces have largely increased since that time, yet, with one exception, no rank has been conferred upon any chief justice since 1867. That exception is Sir Antoine Aimé Dorion[1] who was knighted on leaving political life in 1874 on his appointment to the chief justiceship of the Queen's Bench in the Province of Quebec, while the other chief judges in the Dominion, who were fully the equals of Sir Aimé Dorion, were unnoticed after years of judicial service.

The opinion seems to prevail in England that all the provincial judges are of inferior status to that of the judges of the Supreme Court of Canada—a court only established a few years ago. Two judges of the Supreme Court, Sir William Richards and Sir William Ritchie were very properly knighted on appointment as chief justice. The court over which the latter presides is one of appelate jurisdiction from the different Provincial tribunals, and has therefore a nominal superiority in rank, but the Provincial superior Courts are really more important, and their decisions are held in as great respect as are those of the Dominion Court of Appeal. Now it is a subject of common remark in Canada that while in most Crown Colonies, the chief justices have been honoured, the Bench of the great Province of Ontario, with a population approaching that of Scotland, and soon to exceed it, has been altogether unnoticed. Since Confederation, two chief justices have been knighted in Newfoundland, and one of them made a K.C.M.G. Had

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[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Antoine Aimé Dorion, Mr. Mackenzie's first Minister of Justice (1873–1874); Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench of the Province of Quebec (1874–1891). Died, 31st May, 1891.

that Island joined the Canadian Union as was proposed in 1867, they would probably, like their brother judges, have been ignored. The only two judges of the Provincial Courts now bearing titles are Sir Aimé Dorion, whom I have mentioned, and Sir Matthew Begbie, Chief Justice of British Columbia, who though knighted since Confederation, holds his title apparently for services rendered while British Columbia was a Crown Colony.

I hope that Your Excellency will concur in the opinion that this apparent and noticeable neglect should not be allowed to continue, and I venture to suggest the adoption of some rules for the distribution of titles among Canadian judges. I would not propose the adoption of the practice which obtains in England of knighting *all* the judges of the Superior Courts, but I think that the rule might be established of knighting the chief justices of the Superior Courts of the four larger Provinces—Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, on appointment to office. If this practice were adopted, four judges in Ontario would be knighted, namely the chief justice in Appeal, the Queen's Bench, and the Common Pleas, and the Chancellor—in Quebec two, namely the chief justice of the Queen's Bench and of the Superior Court. I may mention that the Queen's Bench is a Court of Appeal and of criminal jurisdiction. The Superior Court deals with civil matters exclusively. There is one chief justice in each of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

I enclose to Your Excellency a memorandum based upon a recent Colonial Office list showing the honours conferred upon the judges of the various Colonies with their populations, which illustrates the apparent injustice done to the Bench in Canada.

While this matter is under consideration, I beg leave to call Your Excellency's attention to the case of the Honourable William C. Meredith, lately retired from the Chief Justiceship of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec, who has faithfully and efficiently served for thirty-four years, during which period he gained the respect and esteem of the bench, bar, and people of that Province.

I would also mention the names of the Honourable John Hawkins Hagarty, Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal of

Ontario, who has been on the Bench for many years, and who is distinguished for his judicial qualities.

Believe me,
dear Lord Lansdowne,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Governor-General.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

9, Victoria Chambers,
London, S. W., February 24th, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have been greatly concerned by your letter of the 24th ultimo as to the position of the C.P.R. and the attitude of some of your colleagues, and for the first time regret that I left Parliament. I like the position here very much—it suits me—my health is much better, and I am vain enough to believe that I am fairly well qualified for the position and able to do important work for Canada, but I look upon the success of the C.P.R. as so vital to the progress and greatness of Canada, that I have no hesitation in placing myself unreservedly in your hands. I cannot believe that McLelan will resign, but I would not hesitate to take his place and carry Nova Scotia for the policy of placing the C.P.R. in a position to successfully operate the road, and under the existing subsidies extend it to St. John, Halifax and Louisburg. Or, if McLelan will stand by the interests of the whole Dominion, (as I consider the C.P.R. inseparably bound up with them) I will, if needed, go back to Parliament as a private member, and sustain you all to the best of my ability. If you let the C.P.R. go down, you will sacrifice both the country and the party, and throw all back again for ten years. I do not believe that either Parliament or the country will consent to this.

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES TUPPER.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, March 12, 1885.

MY DEAR TUPPER,

I have your notes of the 18th and 27th on the subject of sending Canadian troops to the Soudan. I wrote you a hurried note the other day on this question, and have both before and since talked it over with my colleagues, and we think the time has not arrived, nor the occasion, for our volunteering military aid to the Mother County.

We do not stand at all in the same position as Australasia. The Suez Canal is nothing to us, and we do not ask England to quarrel with France or Germany for our sakes. The offer of those Colonies is a good move on their part, and somewhat like Cavour's sending Sardinian troops to the Crimea. Why should we waste money and men in this wretched business? England is not at war, but merely helping the Khedive to put down an insurrection, and now that Gordon is gone, the motive of aiding in the rescue of our countrymen is gone with him. Our men and money would therefore be sacrificed to get Gladstone and Co. out of the hole they have plunged themselves into by their own imbecility.

Again, the reciprocal aid to be given by the Colonies and England should be a matter of treaty, deliberately entered into and settled on a permanent basis. The spasmodic offers of our Militia Colonels, anxious for excitement or notoriety, have roused unreasonable expectations in England, and are so far unfortunate. I dare say that a battalion or two of venturous spirits might be enlisted, but 7d. a day will cool most men's warlike ardour.

Our Artillery batteries are not enlisted for foreign service, and could not be ordered to the Soudan. The Fenians are beginning to show signs of life again in the U.S. and there are so many unemployed there that they may become dangerous again. They threaten to invade Canada if she sends troops against the Mahdi. Most of this is nonsense, but we can never calculate on what these people may do. If there should be a row with Russia, we shall have to send our men via the C.P.R. to Vancouver, but I fancy that threatened storm will blow over.

We are dragging on slowly this session. The Govt. is too old.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

House of Commons,
26th March, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

The result of our conversation this morning has satisfied me that the Government will not be able to see its way to extend to the C.P.R. Com-

pany the aid it requires. I have therefore wired Mr. Boissevaine not to leave Toronto until he hears from me after 3 o'c. and I would ask you as a favour to me to let me have a line from you after Council rises stating the determination of the Government. I think you will agree with me that I ought to have the decision of the Government in writing, so as to relieve me personally from the possible charge of having acted with undue haste. If the decision be unfavourable I shall wire Mr. Boissevaine to come back to Montreal to-night instead of going on to the North West, and we shall at once consider our position and determine what course to follow.

I need not repeat how sorry I am that this should be the result of all our efforts to give Canada a railway to the Pacific Ocean. But I am supported by the conviction that I have done all that could be done to obtain it.

Yours always,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

P.S. Will you send me a line to room 95. Abbott goes down with me to-night.
G. S.

During the autumn of 1884 and the ensuing winter, the machinations of Louis Riel, about which Sir John Macdonald had been apprehensive in the preceding July, gradually drew to a head. The first official report bearing on the subject, dated 13th July 1884, was made by Superintendent Crozier, then in command of the North West Mounted Police Force at Battleford, to the effect that the halfbreeds in that region alleged grievances of various kinds, without, however, specifying any, and that the Indians were becoming excited by reason of the activities of the halfbreeds. During August and September, Riel held meetings at Prince Albert, Batoche, and Duck Lake, at which he, with an affectation of moderation, insidiously fanned the sparks of discontent among the halfbreeds, and at the same time, craftily encouraged the Indians to make common cause with them. This sort of thing went on all winter.

On the 17th March, 1885, a meeting of halfbreeds was held at St. Laurent at which a Provisional Government was formed with Louis Riel as President, Gabriel Dumont as Adjutant General, W. H. Jackson, President's Secretary, and so on. On the 19th, the halfbreeds seized the Government stores at the South Branch (of the Saskatchewan River), imprisoned the Indian Agent and two telegraph operators, besides committing other depredations, whereupon the whole Prince Albert district was in a blaze. On the 18th March,

Col. Irvine, Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police Force, left Regina for Prince Albert with ninety men. The rebel forces under arms were at that time about 400. On the 24th March, Major General Middleton, commanding the Militia, left Ottawa for the seat of the disturbance, to take command of the forces of the Crown, and on the 29th, Sir John Macdonald addressed him this letter:

From Sir John Macdonald to Major-General Frederick Middleton.

Ottawa, 29th March, 1885.

Dear General Middleton,

Although quite inexperienced in military matters, it can do no harm for me to send you some of my crude ideas in the present trouble. The first thing to be done is to localize the insurrection. The C.P.R. must of course be guarded, but besides that, parties should be sent to watch the people and stores coming in at Emerson by rail. The different trails across the border should also be watched as closely as possible. A force should be placed at Battleford and, if possible, a line of communication from that place to the railway, should be watched so as to prevent the flame from spreading westwards. I presume that you have authorized Colonel Osborne Smith to raise a battalion at Winnipeg. From that place and the vicinity, I should think that from one to two thousand men could be got if necessary. At the different points where there are Mounted Police stationed, as at Regina, Maple Creek and Edmonton, but where there is no military organization, the officers of that force (who are magistrates) have been authorized to swear in the inhabitants willing to serve as Police Constables. This will give them a right to act with the Police force and bring them into some sort of training

It occurs to me that with the breaking up of the winter, the roads will be almost impassable for infantry, and that the services of a mounted force will be nearly, if not quite, indispensable. You will have Lord Melgund[1] on hand for that

[1] At that time Secretary and Military Secretary to the Governor-General (Lord Lansdowne); subsequently (1898–1904) as Lord Minto, himself Governor-General. When the Riel Rebellion broke out in March 1885, Lord Melgund was one of the first to offer his services in the cause of law and order. Died, 1st March, 1914.

purpose at Winnipeg. Captain John Stewart, formerly commanding the Militia Cavalry at Ottawa, and a dashing young fellow, is now a ranchman south of Calgary. He is here just now and is to proceed west where he will raise a corps of Western prairie men—cow boys and others who can all ride and shoot. They will bring their horses and equipments, all but rifles. I presume also that General Strange will be able to send you along the line of railway wherever wanted, at least a couple of troops of mounted men. All this, I believe, you already know from Caron. I asked him to telegraph you to know if you would want cavalry from Ontario or Quebec, but have not seen him to know what your opinion is. If you can get men enough from the prairies, they would, of course, be much more serviceable than town bred men who compose our cavalry.

I am told that there is a good cavalry corps in the Eastern Townships of farmers' sons. Mr. Ives, the member for one of these counties, thinks they would be only too glad to volunteer. Don't trouble yourself to answer me, but communicate with Caron on these subjects.

Would Colonel Irwin[1] be of service to you just now? I hear that artillery batteries are volunteering all over Canada. Some you might want, but I fear their nine pounders would be too heavy for prairie work.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

General Middleton,[2]
Commanding the Forces
in the North West.

From Sir John Macdonald to Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney.

Ottawa, 29th March, 1885.

MY DEAR DEWDNEY,

This insurrection is a bad business, but we must face it as best we may. Last week I telegraphed Father Lacombe stating that I was sure that his people would be all

[1] Colonel de la Cherois Thomas Irwin, C.M.G., in 1884–5, Commandant Royal Canadian Artillery.

[2] Major-General (afterwards Sir Frederick) Middleton, commanding the Militia of Canada.

right, but he had better see them. He answered, vouching for their loyalty, and saying that he would at once communicate with the Chiefs.

It would not do to encourage an Indian war, but I understand that the Crees dread the Blackfeet like the devil. Now a corps of Indian scouts under Crowfoot might be formed and kept west, but the information should be widely spread among the Crees and halfbreeds that a Blackfeet force has been prepared. This might have the effect of producing a panic among the rebels. What do you think of this? Pray let me know by telegraph.

If there is no military organization formed at Regina and along the line, they should be sworn in as Police Constables by the officers of the Mounted Police. They might act with the police and get some crude ideas of drill until there is regular organization.

I enclose you a letter from Sir Alexander Galt. Will you telegraph me if you think his plan a good one?

I have some impression that the navigation of the South Saskatchewan is very slow at all periods of the year—especially in the early spring it would be much impeded by ice. Do you think time would be saved by sending men to Prince Albert in steamboats and barges.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Honour
Edgar Dewdney,
Lieut. Governor,
Regina.

The narrative of events connected with this short-lived insurrection will be found in the military archives of the country, and in the Reports of the Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police for 1885. A good summary is contained in Morgan's Dominion *Annual Register* for 1885, pp. 128-189. On the 15th May, four days after the battle of Batoche, Riel gave himself up. His Indian ally, Poundmaker, speedily followed suit. A little later, Big Bear and a number of his followers were captured, and the rising was at an end. Big Bear, Poundmaker, and several of their accomplices, as also a number of halfbreeds, were put on

rial at Battleford, and sentenced to various terms of imrisonment for their part in the insurrection. Eight of the ndians convicted of murder at Frog Lake, and elsewhere, vere hanged. Riel's trial opened at Regina on the 20th uly. On the 1st August, he was found guilty of high reason, and after various delays, executed on the 16th November, 1885. As the within correspondence indicates, he Riel affair was productive of much excitement at the ime, the English element calling for justice on the arch riminal, while the French Canadians were equally clamorous or a fresh exercise of clemency.

From Chief Crowfoot[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Blackfoot Crossing, 11th April, 1885.

On behalf of myself and people I wish to send through you to the Great Mother the words I have given to the Governor at a Council held, at which my minor Chiefs and young men were present. We are agreed and determined to remain loyal to the Queen. Our young men will go to work on their reserve, and will raise all the crops we can, and we hope the Government will help us to sell what we cannot use.

Continued reports are brought to us, and we do not know what to believe, but now that we have seen the Governor and heard him speak, we will shut our ears and only listen to and believe what is told us through the Governor.

Should any Indians come to our reserves and ask us to join them in war we will send them away. I have sent messengers to the Bloods and Piegans who belong to our treaty to tell them what we are doing, and what we intend to do about the trouble. I want Mr. Dewdney to be with us, and all my men are of the same mind. The words I sent by Father La Combe I again send. We will be loyal to the Queen whatever happens. I have a copy of this, and when the trouble is over, will have it with pride to show to the Queen's Officers, and we leave our future in your hands.

We have asked for nothing, but the Governor has given us a little present of tea and tobacco. He will tell you what other talk we had at our Council it was all good, not one bad word.

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[1] Crowfoot, the Chief of the Blackfeet tribe, a remarkably sagacious old Indian, who remained loyal, with his people, to the Government throughout this trying period. In the early autumn of 1886, Crowfoot with some of his principal warriors, under the guidance of the Reverend Father Lacombe, visited Sir John Macdonald at Ottawa and were photographed in a group at Earnscliffe. Poundmaker was Chief of the Cree Indians, whose reserve is situated at Battle River, Saskatchewan. Big Bear was chief of the Cree Indians, who, previous to the rebellion of 1885, resided near Fort Pitt, Saskatchewan.

From Sir John Macdonald to Chief Crowfoot, Blackfoot Crossing.

Ottawa, 14th April, 1885.

I have received your good and loyal message by telegraph and I have shown it to the Governor-General, who is our Great Chief under the Queen.

He desires me to thank you for your promise to be a faithful friend of our Great Mother, and is sure your words are true. I have also read your message to our great Council at Ottawa, which pleased them very much. What Governor Dewdney has promised shall be performed.

We will help you to sell what you cannot use of your crop, and shall never forget the good conduct of yourself, your minor chiefs and warriors.

JOHN A. MACDONALD
Superintendent-General of
Indian Affairs.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, 11th April, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I do hope something will be done to-day that will have the effect of saving the life of the Company. I stayed over here to-day in case I might be wanted. It is impossible for me to carry on this struggle for life, in which I have now been for over 4 months constantly engaged, any longer. Although I have done my best to save the life and the honour of the Company, I cannot help feeling that I have failed to impress the Government with a full sense of the extreme urgency of the necessities of the Company, and yet I do not know anything further that I can say or do to enable the Government to realize the extreme gravity of the position in which the Company is now placed. If the Company is allowed once to go to the wall, the remedial measures proposed will be useless because too late.

I shall be within reach if wanted. Mr. Pope, your secretary, knows where to find me.

Yours always,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

The Right Honourable
Sir John A. Macdonald.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Ottawa, 15th April, 1885*

My Dear Sir John,

It is impossible for me to continue this struggle for existence any longer. The delay in dealing with the C.P.R. matter, whatever may be the necessity for it, has finished me, and rendered me utterly unfit for further work, and if it is continued, must eventuate in the destruction of the Company.

I must go home this evening and if any one should be required here on behalf of the C.P.R. Company, Mr. Van Horne[1] will probably come up.

I expect Mr. Boissevaine will be in Montreal to-day, and to-morrow morning I will have the humiliation of being forced to tell him that our matters with the Government are apparently as far from a settlement as they were the day he left Toronto for the Northwest—over three weeks ago—and that I have exhausted all my energies in trying to expedite an arrangement of some kind without result.

I cannot refrain from saying here that I feel most keenly the position I am placed in. Every day obligations are maturing that three months ago were postponed till now on the faith that by this time we should be in position to meet them, and our ability to pay these obligations or to postpone them again is gone. I do not wish to say anything now about the sacrifices that I have made for the C.P.R. to make it a success, or to take up your time with complaints of any kind, further than to say I have not met with the confidence and support from the Government which I felt I had a fair right to expect, and I will only add one more remark about the North Shore line. . . .

Always yours,
George Stephen.

From George Stephen, Esq., to the Hon. J. H. Pope.

Cypher Telegram. *Montreal, 16th April, 1885.*

Immediate.

Get Abbott to translate this. Van Horne writes:—"Have no means paying wages, pay car can't be sent out, and unless we get immediate relief we must stop. Please inform Premier and Finance Minister. Do not be surprised, or blame me, if an immediate and most serious catastrophe happens."

George Stephen.

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[1] Afterwards Sir William Van Horne, K.C.M.G. In 1884 General Manager and Vice-President, and on the retirement of Sir George Stephen in 1888, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway; a remarkably able and many-sided man. Died, 11th September, 1915.

Prince Albert,
June 12th, 1885.

We the undersigned, priests of the districts more especially concerned in this Rebellion, viz. St. Laurent, Batoche, and Duck Lake, as it was among our own people here, that the miscreant Louis "David" Riel made his headquarters, and we as residents, and knowing the facts, would draw the attention of our fellow speaking people in Canada and elsewhere to the facts.

That Louis Riel does not deserve the sympathy of the Roman Catholic Church or its people, as he usurped our places as priests with our flocks, and otherwise deprived our people of the advantages and consolation of having us among them. All this he did to gain his own selfish ends, and we therefore feel that the Church and people in Canada should sympathize with us and our people, and pity them, rather than blame them for being led astray. A great many of our people are utterly destitute having had their stuff taken by Louis Riel and Council in the first place, and then suffering the usual losses that must follow on an army marching through said districts. General Middleton did all he could to make the losses and suffering of our flocks as light as he could, and deserves our heartfelt thanks. But unless we receive help in some way, our people will starve, and we therefore ask the French speaking people of Canada and others to give their sympathy to us and our flocks,

And to pray with us that the Government may temper justice with mercy in dealing with our people who were led astray.

Father André, Superior of the District.
Father Fourmond, Director of O.M.I. St.Laurent.
Ls. Touse, O.M.I.
E. Lecoq, Ptre.
V. Végréville, P.M.A., O.M.I., priest at Batoche.
Moulin, Ptre., O.M.I., Parish priest of Batoche.

From George Stephen, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Montreal, 18th June, 1885.*

My dear Sir John,

I have read Blake's speech, and without exception it is the *meanest* thing of the kind that has ever come under my notice. It is an ill-conditioned, vindictive effort to discredit the Company, without the remotest possibility of benefiting anybody, politically or otherwise. It *ought* not to hurt the Company either here or on the other side, but it may have some effect on the market for our bonds. His "facts" and "figures" are all wrong or misleading, as Van Horne's statement going to Abbott to-night will demonstrate, and Van Horne himself goes up to-morrow morning so as to be there to answer any questions that may turn up. I am taking Mrs. Stephen down to Causapscal to-night, but will be here again on Wednesday.

Russel Stephenson and his wife are going down with us. She is in a very precarious condition.

I am so furious at Blake that I cannot at the moment write coherently about him or his speech. What a miserable creature he must be! Pope did his part *very* well—I fancy the longest speech he ever made. I see Cartwright promised the debate would close to-morrow night. I hope it will wind up with a few words from yourself. No one can do so much by a few sentences to destroy the evil effects of Blake's malicious speech as you can, and I hope you will express the scorn and contempt which I am sure you must feel for both him and his speech.

Always yours,
GEORGE STEPHEN.

From the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Albert to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Prince Albert, July 11th, 1885.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR JOHN MACDONALD,
Prime Minister of Canada, Ottawa.

HONOURABLE SIR,

After the sad events from which we have all suffered, both physically and mentally, I undertook to visit that part of my diocese which had been principally the theatre of the disturbance. I cannot think without emotion of the devastation and ruin which I there perceived, nor foresee, without fear and disquiet, the sad consequences of so much misery. What I most dread is the antipathy, the hatred and the desire of revenge which will infallibly arise among the different nationalities and religious denominations of the country. It is also to be feared that a number of excellent and industrious halfbreed families will abandon the country to settle either in the United States or to advance further north into the most destitute parts of the territory, where, living miserably, they will cherish in themselves and transmit to their descendants, a spirit of hatred and vengeance which poverty and its attendant miseries will foster. This fire hidden under the ashes will, sooner or later, burst out and will not be extinguished until it has caused considerable ravages. The more the conditions of the halfbreeds and Indians resemble each other, the more readily will they unite for evil. To prevent these miseries, I have just had a petition signed which I address to the Most Honourable Minister of Justice with a view to obtain all possible indulgence in favour of the halfbreeds who have compromised themselves in the Rebellion, excepting, however, two or three who are in reality the cause of all the evil. These poor halfbreeds would never have taken up arms against the Government had not a miscreant of their own nation, profiting by their discontent, excited them thereto. He gained their confidence by a false and hypocritical piety, and having drawn them from the beneficial influence of their clergy, brought them to look upon himself as a prophet, a man inspired by God and specially charged with a

mission in their favour, he forced them to take up arms. So much was he master of them, that no one dared to resist him. If they did not take up arms from enthusiasm, they did so from fear, terrified by his menaces. Captain Moore, who lost his leg in consequence of this deplorable revolt, said to me on signing the petition, that apart from Riel and Gabriel Dumont, he did not know any halfbreed really culpable. He appears, however, to have forgotten a certain Maukuman. When the petition was presented to Mr. Thomas MacKay who had made every possible effort to quell the Rebellion, he expressed his desire that the petition should be made specially in favour of the councillors of Riel; he desired this because he knew that the title of councillor would naturally lead one to suppose that those officers were more culpable, while in reality the men who bore these titles were often only poor blockheads such as in French we would call *de bonnes bêtes*, chosen precisely because they were incapable of saying a word in the assemblies, and very often they did not even know what question was being discussed. I have been assured that only two amongst them are able to write their own names.

I, therefore, beg Your Honour to support this petition with your authority. The principal inhabitants of the English Colony of Prince Albert, those who have had most to complain of during the Rebellion, are also of my opinion on this point. I do not even except the Government officials nor the military authorities, their official position does not allow them to sign the petition, but they approve of it and express their wishes for its success.

Believe me,
Honourable Sir,
Your humble and devoted servant,
+ Vital J. Bishop of St. Albert.
O.M.I.

From Louis Riel to Sir John Macdonald.

Jesus! Sauvez-nous. Marie! Intercédez pour nous. Joseph! Priez pour nous.

Prison de Regina, 16 Juillet, 1885.

Au Très Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald,
Premier Ministre de la Puissance du Canada.
Monsieur le Premier Ministre,

J'implore un procès complet et à la Cour Suprême. Je désire me disculper des accusations qui pèsent sur moi, depuis quinze ans. Si vous cédez à mes instances, si vous m'accordez toute la latitude dont j'ai besoin pour me défendre, Dieu me secourant, non seulement je me clairerai, mais la grande responsabilité des troubles du Nord-ouest en 69-70 et en 85 tombera lourdement sur les Honorables Messieurs Blake et McKenzie et sur les journaux leurs principaux organes. Votre Politique au sujet du Nord-ouest se trouvera comme débarrassée des obstacles que ces deux hommes puissants se sont efforcés de vous susciter depuis 69.

Mon interêt n'est pas seulement de me disculper. Je désire me réhabili-

er. Si par le soutien de Dieu et la faveur des bonnes gens, il m'est permis e viser aux avantages d'une vraie réhabilitation et d'une indemnité quitable, ce serait pour rentrer dans la politique Manitobaine.

Il m'en coûte d'abandonner ma patrie, ma mère, mes frères, mes sœurs, nes parents, mes amis.

De plus j'ai à cœur de continuer mon œuvre, j'apprécie le grand talent les hommes qui ont gouverné et qui gouvernent encore à l'heure qu'il est, e Manitoba. Mais il me semble qu'ils ne comprennent pas sa fondation. C'est pour cela que cette province n'est pas à l'aise et que la Confédération 'en sent. Le Manitoba profite; mais il me fait penser à ces personnes qui engraissent sans avoir de santé. Il ne lui serait peut-être pas inutile que 'arrivasse un jour à son ministère. Et il me serait particulièrement avantageux, à moi, d'y arriver, pour continuer avec votre Gouvernement, ce qui a été commecé, il y a quinze ans, par l'acte du Manitoba.

J'avais l'honneur de vous dire dans ma communication du 6 courant, que 'Irlande, c'est ce que je pense, pouvait devenir heureuse, et en même temps es seigneurs anglais continuer à avoir leur revenu comme d'ordinaire.

Le principe que j'aurais à proposer pour arriver à ce résultat me paraît clair et simple. Si mon pays natal m'honorait un jour au point de me faire asseoir au premier siège de son Ministère, je vous soumettrais mes vues. Dans le cas où il vous serait possible de les approuver, je vous les soumettrais pour mettre fin aux "Better Terms" qui fatiguent la confédération sans apporter d'amélioration définitive au Manitoba. Vous me procureriez sans doute l'avantage de modifier en mieux ce que je n'aurais pas encore assez mûri dans mes manières de voir. Après les avoir inaugurées dans la jeune province; vous seriez à même d'examiner comment mes idées fonctionneraient. Si elles réussissaient, vous pourriez les généraliser à toute la Puissance. De là la Mère-Patrie en jugerait elle-méme. Et avant trop longtemps, peut-etre auriez vous, vous, la gloire, et moi le plaisir de les voir appliquer à la situation de l'Irlande par la Haute Autorité du Parlement Anglais même.

Le principe et les vues dont j'ai l'honneur de vous dire un mot sont en germe dans la constitution, l'acte du Manitoba.

Monsieur le Premier Ministre, les meilleures idées ont besoin d'être comprises pour être mises en vogue. Et lors même que la main de Dieu et celle de mes amis me ferait sortir de ma prison pour me porter à la tête du Ministère Provincial du Manitoba, il me serait encore bien difficile de faire mon chemin, s'il n'y avait pas là un gouverneur qui me comprit.

Depuis que je suis à Régina, tous mes écrits ont passé par les mains de Monsieur le Capitaine Dean. Ce noble officier connait mes façons de penser. Et pour ne pas le gêner, en lui faisant auprès de vous, des louanges qui ont à passer par son office, je vous dirai tout court que ce serait, à mon avis, un honneur pour le Manitoba, d'avoir un Lieutenant Gouverneur tel que lui; pour l'Honorable Monsieur Aikins un successeur d'aussi grand mérite et pour moi un guide dont les conseils me seraient si utiles.

Mes bienveillants avocats sont arrivés d'avant hier. J'ai eu la joie d'une entrevue avec eux. Ils vont insister pour que mon procès ait lieu en Bas Canada, et par devant la Cour Suprême. Veuillez m'accorder cela à moi. Veuillez céder aux bonnes représentations de mes savants avocats,

Lorsqu'on me conduira dans l'Est, si vous consentez bien que j'y sois conduit, arrangement pourrait être pris pour qu'à mon arrivée trois avocats conservateurs, un Canadien-français, un Irlandais et un Anglais protestant m'offrissent leurs bons services. Grande serait ma reconnaissance pour un tel honneur. Ma cause serait plaidée au point de vue des intérêts de votre parti, comme au point de vue des intérêts du parti opposé.

Monsieur le Capitaine[1] pourrait me conduire. Il suivrait tout le procès. Il vous verrait souvent. Ce serait comme naturellement que vous pourriez le nommer Lieutenant Gouverneur du Manitoba. Moi j'aurais le bonheur de m'en retourner à St. Vital, goûter la paix qui m'y attend depuis quinze ans.

Et vous (que mes vœux ne vous soient pas suspects) vous auriez augmenté de beaucoup le thème de vos récompenses. Si mes bons souhaits peuvent sortir au travers des barreaux de ma petite et sombre cellule, si ma stricte captivité n'empêche pas ma voix de se faire entendre, puissiez-vous un jour occuper le trône Vice Royal de la Puissance, pour le plus grand bien de cette confédération canadienne dont vous êtes l'un des glorieux fondateurs.

J'ai l'honneur, etc.,
Louis Riel.

In the summer of 1885 Sir John Macdonald undertook a somewhat extensive reconstruction of his cabinet. Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Leonard Tilley and Sir David Macpherson had withdrawn or were about to withdraw, the first to become High Commissioner in London: the second to take office as Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick: and the third for reasons of health. In looking round for a strong man to replace Sir Charles Tupper, the name of Mr. Justice Thompson[2] of the Nova Scotia Bench was suggested to Sir John Macdonald as a desirable acquisition, if he could be secured. The negotiations were conducted through Mr. Charles H. Tupper,[3] M.P. for Pictou, with the result that

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[1] Superintendent R. B. Deane of the North West Mounted Police, who was in charge, under Commissioner Irvine, of the barracks and gaol at Regina, and for whom Riel professed much regard.

[2] John S. D. Thompson, at that time a judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Justice in the Cabinet of Sir John Macdonald, 26th September, 1885; K.C.M.G., 1888; Prime Minister of Canada, 5th December, 1892, until his tragic death at Windsor Castle on the occasion of his being sworn a member of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Privy Council, 12th December, 1894.

[3] Charles Hibbert Tupper (afterwards the Hon. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, K.C.M.G.), second son of Sir Charles Tupper, Bart; first elected to the House of Commons for Pictou in 1882; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1st June, 1888.

on the 26th September Mr. Thompson entered the Cabinet of Sir John Macdonald, which he was destined signally to adorn. Mr. Thomas White[1] had been sworn in as Minister of the Interior a few weeks previously, and on the 10th December following, Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Foster[2] became Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

From C. H. Tupper, Esq., M.P., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Halifax, N.S., July 20th, 1885.*

Dear Sir John,

One word anent a matter of great import to us in Nova Scotia just now. Thompson, I find, will go into your Cabinet if asked to do so as Minister of Justice—*not otherwise.*

It is a delicate matter to discuss with him of course, but I have ascertained this.

Stairs had some communication with him through Stewart of the *Herald*. This was injudicious. Stewart is not a man noted for diplomacy, and is not in good odour just now.

The *Herald* on Franchise and Short Line has done Daly and Stairs[3] incalculable harm here.

I am rejoiced to know your illness was only slight, and I heartily congratulate you on standing your arduous sessional duties so well.

With kind regards,

I am
dear Sir John
Faithfully yours,
Charles H. Tupper.

From Sir John Macdonald to Mr. Justice Thompson.

Private & Confidential. *Rivière du Loup.*
21 July/1885.

My dear Judge Thompson,

I am aware of course that you have been asked to join our ministry.

[1] M.P. for Cardwell, 1878–1888; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of the Interior, 5th August, 1885. Died, 21st April, 1888.

[2] The Hon. George Eulas Foster (afterwards the Right Hon. Sir George Foster, G.C.M.G.) was first elected to represent King's County, New Brunswick, in the House of Commons in 1882; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 10th December, 1885; Minister of Finance (1888–1896); Minister of Trade and Commerce in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Borden, from its formation in 1911; sworn of His Majesty's Privy Council, 27th June, 1916.

[3] Messrs. M. B. (afterward Sir Malachy) Daly and John F. Stairs, in 1885 represented Halifax in the House of Commons.

This I have much wished and still wish, and I now write to urge it upon you. If the Department of Justice were open, I would ask you to take it, but Sir A. Campbell is still Minister, though about to leave it. The term is not fixed—and I therefore would press upon you the acceptance of a Cabinet office with the certainty of being Minister of Justice within a very short period. I look upon that office as the highest in Canada, as the Minister performs the political functions of the Lord Chancellor in England. Nova Scotia wants a good representative in the ministry, and you are the man.

Antigonish is open to you, so I shall hope you will accept. As time is precious I would ask you to wire me your final determination, which I trust will be in the affirmative. I will understand the meaning of a telegram "All right," as acceptance; "Cannot go up just now" as a negative.

Hoping to greet you as a colleague,

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Thompson,
Halifax.

From Mr. Justice Thompson to Sir John Macdonald.

Telegram. *Halifax, 27th July, 1885.*

I regret I cannot go up just now.

J. S. D. THOMPSON.

From Mr. Justice Thompson to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Halifax Club,*
Halifax, 1st August, 1885.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

To your very kind letter I replied only by telegraph, thinking that you preferred that I should not write. Mr. Tupper saw me soon afterwards and thought that I was mistaken in that view.

My view of the work, of a political character, which will be required of the next minister from Nova Scotia makes me feel that I am inadequate for the duty, and that my undertaking it would disappoint you.

My tastes and pursuits for some years past have been altogether within the lines of legal study, and my fitness for active political work—especially

campaigning—is probably less on that account than it was when I was in harness in local politics.

In addition to that, there are some difficulties in the constituency which would be the result of Mr. McIsaac's appointment as County Judge, and which would need to be attended to.

I promised Mr. Tupper, however, that in writing to you I should say this: that if there is time to spare over the matter, I would consider the subject a little more, and would then ascertain whether the difficulties in the County could be got out of way. If, however, other arrangements have been entered on in view of the reply I gave by telegraph, there will be no need for you either to recall or regret them.

With much respect and the very best of wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

JNO. S. D. THOMPSON.

The Rt. Honble.
Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,
K.C.M.G., G.C.B., &c.

From Sir John Macdonald to Mr. Justice Thompson.

Rivière du Loup.
August 7th, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have your note of the 1st, from which I am glad to gather that you have not yet spoken the last word as to your becoming a Cabinet Minister.

I am very anxious to secure for the country your valuable services, and shall keep the position open for you. From all I can learn, you will not have much, if any, trouble in Antigonish.

We have now only a mere quorum of Council who attend only to matters of routine or of necessity.

We shall reassemble in full force early in September. I shall hope, therefore, that I may be able to announce to my colleagues then that you have joined the "sacred band."

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Thompson,
Halifax.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne.

Rivière du Loup.
August 28/85.

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,

Riel's case comes before the Queen's Bench on 2nd September.

That Court cannot try him again, but on appeal can decide as to the jurisdiction of the local Court and the legality of its proceedings.

If the application is for a new trial on the usual grounds of misdirection of the judge—or that the verdict was against evidence or the weight of evidence—or for the rejection of admissible or the reception of inadmissible evidence, or the like—then the Court will, if the application is in its opinion well founded, send Riel back to Regina for a second trial. But it is not at all likely that the Court will intervene. It has already in Connor's case decided as to the competence of the Stipendiary Magistrate's Court, and there does not appear from the newspaper report of the trial (I have not yet seen the judge's report) to be any ground for a new trial. The judgment will probably—nay certainly—be promptly given. Then if the judge—Richardson—reports as he will do—that he is satisfied with the verdict, it seems to me that the sentence must be carried into effect.

I don't think that we should by a respite anticipate—and as it were court—the interference of the Judicial Committee. If an appeal lay as a matter of course, or as in civil cases, it might be different—but it is not so in criminal matters.

An appeal against a criminal conviction like the present, is merely an exercise of the prerogative which should only be exercised (as interfering with the administration of justice) in a case of supreme necessity. Your Excellency draws a distinction between treason as having a political aspect, and other crimes. Now there are treasons and treasons—any armed resistance to the Queen's authority is technically treason, but may have no political significance. If there were any international complications likely to arise with the United States, the distinction would be obvious. In 1838 the burning of the *Caroline* and the arrest of McLeod, nearly

caused a war with the United States. Here Imperial considerations gave the right—I may say imposed the necessity on the Home Government—of Imperial interference. So in the case of the Fenian invasions by citizens of the United States.

But this Northwest outbreak was a mere domestic trouble, and ought not to be elevated to the rank of a rebellion.

The offences of Riel were riot and murder of such an extensive nature as to make them technically amount to treason. The whole insurrection should properly be classed with the Rebecca riots of some years ago in England, where there was armed resistance and a conflict with Her Majesty's troops, and loss of life. These riots and the rising under Thorn (I think that was the name) were held technically to be treason, but really amounted only to riot and murder.

There is a feeling of such intensity among the English-speaking people of Canada on this subject, that any appearance of a desire on the part of the Government to facilitate appeal to England would have, in my opinion, serious and far-reaching consequences of a disastrous character, greatly affecting the friendly relations between English and French.

There is, it is true, some sympathy in the Province of Quebec, with Riel. This is principally worked up by the Rouge party for political purposes. Among the habitants of Quebec, the recollection of their own rising in 1837 and of their "martyrs" still lingers, and Riel's rebellion in 1869 was believed by them then to be under the same circumstances as caused their own Holy War.

The attempt now made to revive that feeling in his favour will not extend far, and will be evanescent.

The murder of the priests—the incitement of the Indians to murder and pillage, and Riel's abandonment of the faith of his fathers, added to his cowardice, will prevent any anticipated sentiment in his favour. I send you a copy of a memo signed by the Catholic priests of the Prince Albert district which was sent to Mr. D'Alton McCarthy in June last. In consequence of his absence in England it did not reach him until his return the other day. This shows the estimate of the Catholic clergy residing in the disturbed district, of Riel's character and conduct.

The execution of Riel stands for 18th September and, if

necessary, the Stipendiary Magistrate will postpone it of his own motion without any direct intervention on the part of the Government. See 43 Victoria, C. 25, sec. 76.

Believe me,
dear Lord Lansdowne,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, August 31st, 1885.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

Thanks for your letter of the 28th which I have read with attention.

We are, I think, entirely at one upon the general principle, but I am not sure that I should apply it as you do in Riel's case. I still think that there are features in that case which give it an aspect distinct from that of ordinary criminal cases.

You regard the recent outbreak in the N.W. as a merely "domestic trouble" which should not be "elevated to the rank of a rebellion."

The outbreak was, no doubt, confined to our own territory and may therefore properly be described as a domestic trouble, but I am afraid we have all of us been doing what we could to elevate it to the rank of a rebellion, and with so much success that we cannot now reduce it to the rank of a common riot.

If the movement had been at once stamped out by the N.W.M. police, the case would have been different, but we were within an ace of an Indian war; the progress of the outbreak and its suppression has been described in glowing language by the press all over the world: we brought up troops from all parts of the Dominion: those troops have been thanked by Parliament: they are to receive an Imperial medal. Will not all this be regarded as placing the insurrection in a category quite different from that of the Rebecca riots with which you compare it? No one would have proposed to confer a medal upon the troops or a decoration upon the Commanding Officer engaged in the suppression of these.

I should not like to go a step further than could be helped in facilitating an appeal to England, and there would no doubt be an objection to the postponement of the execution by directions sent from Ottawa at this stage. On the other hand, assuming that the Court of Queen's Bench refuses to order a new trial, and that thereupon Riel at once appeals to the Privy Council, could we hang him before that tribunal had disposed of his application?

It seems to me that if there is any feeling at all on the subject in the Dominion (and I observe what you say as to the extent of this) that feeling would be greatly embittered and prolonged by such a course.

I should much prefer that whatever is done should take place as much as

possible in the ordinary modes of procedure and as little as possible by direct intervention on the part of the Government. Under the section of the N.W. Territories Act to which you refer me (S. 76. s. s. 8) the Stipendiary is required to postpone the execution from time to time until his report has been received and *the pleasure of the Governor thereon communicated to the Lieutenant-Governor.*

If in the interval between the termination of the proceedings at Winnipeg and the date fixed for the execution, we become aware that Riel has appeared by counsel before the Judicial Committee, my "communication" to the Lieutenant-Governor might be deferred. Whereupon the Stipendiary, without special instructions, would, I apprehend, postpone the execution.

What do you say to this?

I am,
Dear Sir John,
Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne.

Rivière du Loup.
September 3, 1885.

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,

I fear that you *have me* with respect to the character given to the outbreak. We have certainly made it assume large proportions in the public eye. This has been done however for our own purposes, and, I think, wisely done. Still it was a rising within a limited area, and was confined to a small number of persons. It never endangered the safety of the State, nor did it involve international complications. True it involved the danger of an Indian war, and in that would be similar to the arson of a small house, in the vicinity of a powder magazine.

What I ventured to suggest in my letter was that the persons convicted at Regina, should be dealt with as guilty of municipal and not political offences.

I quite agree with Your Excellency that if notice is given of an intention to appeal to the Judicial Committee, it would not do to hurry the execution as it were—in order to prevent such appeal.

The mode suggested by Your Excellency of deferring the signification of your pleasure, without any positive action

on the part of the Government, seems the best solution of the matter.

I shall be obliged by Your Excellency not mentioning your views to anyone. These things do get out in an extraordinary way, and if it were suspected that there was a prearranged intention of postponing the execution of the sentence, there would, I fear, be a popular burst of indignation in Ontario and the Northwest, that may as well be avoided.

Believe me,
dear Lord Lansdowne,
faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Alexander Campbell was at this time Minister of Justice. On being requested by Sir John Macdonald to give up this office in favour of Mr. Thompson, he at first demurred, but eventually yielded to the wishes of his chief, and on the 25th September placed his portfolio at the disposal of the Prime Minister, becoming for the fourth time Postmaster General, where he remained until 1887, when he attained the object of his ambition—the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ontario.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir A. Campbell.

Private. *Earnscliffe,*
Ottawa, Sept. 12th, 1885.

MY DEAR CAMPBELL,

I am very glad indeed that you have made up your mind to remain in the Government. Your usefulness to the country and the Conservative party as leader of the Senate is appreciated by all our friends who would have been sorry to see that place filled (inadequately I fear) by another.

Our whole aim now must be so to reconstruct the ministry as to have a moral certainty of carrying the country in 1887. We stand better in the country than in the House, where we were awfully weak last session. I would not willingly go through another session like it. Just think! Tilley, sick and away—Macpherson ditto—Chapleau ditto—Pope sick for good part of the time—Costigan, as you know &c., &c., &c. The work all fell upon me, and much of it of necessity

was ill done, and our friends grumbled. They were only prevented from giving audible expression of their dissatisfaction by a sort of compassionate sympathy for myself. But every one said I must reconstruct before Parliament met again. I have, I think, made a good commencement with T. White; as a debater he will be of great use—his powers of administration have yet to be tried. The place of Tupper in the Government must now be supplied. There is no one among the Nova Scotia contingent in the Commons who would give any strength or relieve me personally. The Nova Scotia M.P.'s are almost unanimous in their desire to secure the services of Judge Thompson—a good lawyer, a popular man, and as they say, an excellent speaker. I want you to help me in this by going back to your old office which you were rather reluctant to leave—of Postmaster General. I know through Tupper that Thompson would leave the Bench for the Department of Justice, but naturally says that he would not undertake—an untried man as he is—to manage a department which he could know nothing about, and where he would run great risk of failure. If we don't get Thompson, I don't know what to do. There are great jealousies among the Nova Scotians, as they stand on an equality of unfitness, but they would all yield to the superior abilities of Thompson, and I am assured that his advent would secure the Province at the General Election which stands a great chance of being lost from the contending claims of the aspirants. * * *

Your old office will give you more time than the present one, and you know your own occasions compelled you to be more often absent than was expedient for the working of Council.

The leadership of the Lords and the P.O. will give you enough to do and leave you more untrammelled should business or health call you away—so I trust you will aid me in this matter. * * * I propose, should all go right, to allow Beverley Robinson to remain, without a renewal of office by Commission (as Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario,) for another year, say till July 1886. * * * You seem to have gathered from my note that I wanted that office for myself. I didn't mean you to understand it so. I merely stated, or wished to state, that while from a pecuniary point

of view it would suit me, I felt that it was not in the interests of the party that I should take it, and therefore did not entertain the proposition, and that for the same reason you should follow my example.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir Alexander Campbell to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, 13th September, 1885.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I have just received your note and am taken by surprise.

I like my present Department better than the Post Office, or any other which I have filled—I was distrustful of being able to discharge the duties satisfactorily, when you proposed it to me, and hence the reluctance to which you refer—but I find them congenial, and they have brought back much of my earlier habits, and literary pursuits, and I am unwilling to leave them. I believe that I have succeeded fairly well in their discharge. I wish that you had mentioned your desire that I should return to the Post Office when you asked me to remain in the Government—in assenting to this desire, I, of course, assumed that I was to continue to serve in my present office; no other idea crossed my mind.

I regret to say that I am unable to comply with your request. It is an unusual thing for a newcomer to stipulate what office shall be vacated for him, I think, and Mr. Thompson could have no difficulty at the Post Office Department, or any other, which has not been encountered by all who have entered this or former Governments.

Faithfully yours,
A. CAMPBELL.

From Sir A. Campbell to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *14 September, 1885.*

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

I enclose your note of Saturday, as requested—please send me it back. I will send a reply to your note of to-day later on.

If you carry out your intention of bringing the matter to Council, I wish you would let me know in advance *when* you will do so, as I think I had better be absent.

Faithfully yours,
A. CAMPBELL.

P.S. Thompson is probably an able man from what they all say—he has the air of a man educated for the priesthood, with a nervous look and subdued manner. I should think it extremely doubtful how far he will be of real value to the Commons.

From Sir John Macdonald to Mr. Justice Thompson.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 17th September, 1885.

My dear Sir,

I am exceedingly glad that you have accepted office. Sir Alexander Campbell has returned and has kindly promised to take another portfolio in order that the Government may have the advantage of your services. I have enclosed my letter offering the County Court Judgeship to McIsaac to Charles H. Tupper, and have asked him to see him personally and get his written acceptance.

Yours sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

The Honourable
Mr. Justice Thompson,
Halifax, N.S.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald

Government House,
Victoria, October 7th, 1885.

Dear Sir John,

If the Privy Council should deal summarily with Riel's application, the decision may be announced before the 16th, in which case there would be time for the issue of instructions to the Lieutenant-Governor to carry out the sentence of the court.

A further postponement of the date of the execution would not be desirable, unless for some very obvious reason, and from our conversations at Ottawa, I have no doubt that your mind is fully made up, and that you will advise that the law should take its course. What I have heard during my journey through the Northwest has satisfied me that there is a stronger case in favour of this view than I supposed when we last discussed the matter.

I should however much have preferred that the decision to be taken should rest upon advice tendered by you and your colleagues to and accepted by me. The importance of the case is so great that it should be dealt with upon the full responsibility of the Governor-General in Council rather than by his Deputy. It is for this reason that I have sent you my telegram of this day's date.

I have given up all idea of remaining for the laying of the last rail, and I shall be at Ottawa on the 27th. I have some engagements en route, from which I cannot extricate myself.

I am, dear Sir John,
Yours sincerely,
Lansdowne.

From Sir John Macdonald to George Stephen, Esq.

28th October, 1885.

My dear Stephen,

I see that the Postmaster General of Great Britain has invited tenders to be made in March next for a fortnightly mail service to be carried on between Cole Harbour and Hong-Kong, via Yokohama.

I have had a note from Van Horne on the subject and quite agree with him that 11 knots per hour is too slow to control the trade. The Postmaster General, it is evident, thinks only of making as good time for the mails as by the Suez Canal. This is all very well in its way, but these mail vessels should be made useful in securing to us a larger portion of the carrying trade. Now, it appears to me that you should at once see the Postmaster General, or rather in this time of political crisis, the Deputy Postmaster General, or whoever is the permanent head of the department, and endeavour to procure joint action between that Department and the Admiralty. The new vessels should be of a superior class, and of much greater speed. Van Horne says that not less than 14 knots will do. They might be built on specifications approved by the Admiralty so as to fit them in time of war for transport and general naval service. Such vessels should command a subsidy from both departments.

The C.P.R. should, if possible, secure the contract and so get control of the line.

You should tender low so that there might be no mistake about it, and I dare say that we can persuade Parliament to give you a subsidy.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
John A. Macdonald.

George Stephen, Esq.,
25, St. James's Place,
London.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, November 6th, 1885.

Dear Sir John Macdonald,

I have received by cable, through the Secretary of State, Her Majesty's commands to convey to the people of Canada Her congratulations upon the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[1]

Her Majesty is pleased to add that she has watched its progress with much interest, and that she hopes for the future success of a work of such value and importance to the Empire.

You will, I have no doubt, take steps in order to give publicity to Her Majesty's gracious congratulations.

Let me conclude this note by expressing the hearty satisfaction with which I have learned that this great national work has been successfully accomplished.

I am, dear Sir John,
Yours sincerely,
Lansdowne.

From the Hon. Thomas White[2] to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Winnipeg, 9th November, 1885.*

My dear Sir John.

I have never been thoroughly disgusted with public life until now. You have been in it for over forty years, have safely and successfully led your party for a quarter of a century, and yet, on the strength of a telegram in the *Manitoban*, stating that a medical Commission was examining Riel at Regina, there was literally a stampede of the whole party, led by our mutual friend Scarth,[3] and a proposition gravely made by the very men (of course Scarth was not in that) who were preparing for me a demonstration which they had assured me was to be a perfect ovation, to make me the vicarious sufferer by an ovation of a different kind, in which rotten eggs would be the chief article on the menu. It turned out afterwards that the telegram in the *Manitoban*, dated from Regina, was written by Acton Burrows in the office here, on the merest street gossip, a fact which shows how unfortunate it is that such a man should have control of what

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[1] The last spike in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven by Donald A. Smith at Craigellachie, 28 miles west of Revelstoke, British Columbia, on the 7th November, 1885.

[2] The new Minister of the Interior. The Medical Commission of which Mr. White speaks, was appointed, and after due examination of the prisoner, found him responsible for his actions.

[3] At that date M.P. for Winnipeg.

is supposed to be the leading Conservative organ here. I telegraphed you the facts of the excitement, and your reply on Saturday has had a soothing effect, although what the effect of a further reprieve may be, I dont know, as I suppose that will be necessary. However, the one thing which is very apparent is that these Western Conservatives are a mercurial lot; and a skilful man in opposition could easily devise a cry, just on the eve of a polling day, that would demoralize them badly. It is a thousand pities that our first understanding in Council, which was that Riel should be reprieved until the middle of November and leave time for all contingencies, had not been carried out by Richardson, to whom, as you remember, Campbell was to have communicated it privately.

I am very busy with Smith and Pearce, wiping out a lot of things that have arisen during my trip. This will take me all I can do this week, and I will have to work hard to accomplish it. I leave however on Sunday night for home.

Yours truly,
THOS. WHITE.

The Right Honble.
Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B.

From the Hon J. A. Chapleau to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Ottawa, 12 Nov., 85.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I spent the greatest part of the night in preparing my memorandum in support of my disagreement in the Riel case. Just as I was sending it this morning, I hesitated, in face of the terrible responsibility of an agitation on such a question where national animosities would surely meet to fight their battle, and after a long meditation I have decided not to incur that great responsibility.

I believe in the guilt of the prisoner. His mental delusions would be the only extenuating point against the full application of the law in his case.

In the state of doubt in which I am with regard to that point, I prefer giving the benefit of the doubt to the law than to the deluded criminal.

We may be called to suffer, my Quebec colleagues and myself, I more than others, at the hands of our people, owing to the intense feeling which exists in our Province. (It is a further reason with me not to abandon my colleagues, as it would look like desertion at the hour of danger.)

However, I prefer the risk of personal loss to the national danger imminent, with the perspective of a struggle in the field of race and religious prejudices. We will have to fight, perhaps to fall. Well, I prefer, after all, to fight and to fall in the old ship and for the old flag.

I would prefer in this case, that the minute of last evening's Council would record my assent to the decision of the Council.

Yours faithfully,
J. A. CHAPLEAU.

From Sir Hector Langevin to Sir John Macdonald.

Telegram. *St. Martin's Junction, Quebec, 12th November, 1885.*

Coursol, Desjardins, Girouard and Vanasse met me here and say they and all others object to execution and will act accordingly.

HECTOR L. LANGEVIN.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Hector Langevin, Quebec.

13 November, 1885.

Keep calm resolute attitude—all will come right.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Lt.-Governor Dewdney to Sir John Macdonald.

Private and Confidential. *Regina, Nov. 16th, 1885.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Riel was executed this morning, as I advised you by telegraph. There was no hitch, and they say he died in two minutes. He promised to visit Chapleau[1] in three days. * * *

There is a good deal of dissatisfaction with the sheriff business—he knows it, and will leave, so he says.

I wired you as soon as possible after the hanging had taken place, and as I had seen Chapleau the night before, and told him that I was instructed that the prisoner must be buried in the precincts of the gaol, and as I knew the grave was dug, I thought I was safe in saying "buried", but about noon I received a letter enclosing one from Père André[2] to the Sheriff, in which an application was made for Riel's body by the Sheriff on behalf of Père André, who stated that Riel had made a Will and left him Executor, and in the Will had asked that his body be taken to St. Boniface and buried beside his father's remains. I answered as wired you. Since then Col. MacLeod has brought me a copy of the Will translated. Irvine has it in charge with all Riel's other papers.

The Will not only asks that his body might be taken to St. Boniface, but that it be first exhibited at St. Vital where his family live. I will send you a copy of the Will as soon as I can get it. *It is not the Will of an insane man*

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[1] Major S. E. St. Onge Chapleau, in 1885 Sheriff of the Northwest Territories.

[2] The Reverend Alexis André, Parish priest of Regina, and Riel's spiritual adviser in his last hours.

by any means. I am glad MacLeod was here stopping with Irvine, the former has some back bone, the latter——.

Riel speaks of his papers in his will and leaves them for Père André to publish, but no one will have them until your pleasure is known, if I can help it.

I am glad it is over and I hope, as I believe, that the action of your Government will do an immense amount of good.

With kind regards
Believe me
Yours very sincerely,
E. Dewdney.

The Right Honourable
Sir John A. Macdonald.

From the Hon. J. A. Chapleau to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, 8.30 p.m.,
(16th November, 1885.)

My dear Sir John,

I am just in receipt of the enclosed telegram, and I think an answer should be sent at once. If I can offer an opinion, I think the demand should be allowed, otherwise the mystery of a burial in the gaol yard would add to Riel's legend, and he is not worth that additional interest.

Yours very truly,
J. A. Chapleau.

From the Hon. J. A. Chapleau to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, 16th November, 1885.

My dear Sir,

I have sent the telegram, copy of which I enclose.

I am informed the demand to bury the body under the church[1] (contrary to Riel's demand to be buried at St. Boniface) is specially made to prevent the avengers of Scott's death from doing with Riel's body what was done with Scott's remains, stealing it and concealing it in some secret spot. I believe this version to be true.

Yours very truly,
J. A. Chapleau.

[1] Riel was twice buried. The body was first handed over to Father André, and after the usual appropriate religious services, technically buried beneath the sanctuary of St. Mary's Church, Regina, from which place it was, a few hours later, removed and taken to St. Boniface, where, in the Cathedral churchyard, it was finally deposited.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Secret.

Government House,
Ottawa, 29th November, 1885.

Re baronetcy to Mr. George Stephen.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I enclose, but only for your private eye, a note which I have just received from Lord Elphinstone. I have told him that we had not lost sight of the matter, and that I had asked you to ascertain informally whether it would be agreeable to Mr. G. Stephen that I should recommend him for some mark of Her Majesty's favour.

Could we recommend Mr. Donald Smith for K.C.M.G. without leading to the preferment of other claims by his colleagues on the Board of Directors? I imagine that he has made personal sacrifices, or rather perhaps run personal risks, which have not been encountered to the same extent by any one else. His position, too, as a venerable and munificent citizen is almost unique.

What do you say as to the baronetcy? I suppose there are precedents for granting this distinction in consideration of services, such as Mr. G. Stephen's, rendered in the Colonies. Even, however, if this were not so, there is a disposition and a natural one, to regard the C.P.R. as an Imperial work, and, if the matter be looked at in this light, the distinction given might without impropriety be different from that usually given for purely Colonial services.

Please write, or if you like, cable to me as to this.

Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

PART IV

1886—1891

PART IV

1886—1891

From Sir John Macdonald to Donald A. Smith, Esq.

Earnscliffe,
Private and Confidential. *Ottawa, January 25th, 1886.*

My dear Mr. Smith,

I have seen Lord Lansdowne and he is very desirous of recommending you for a ribbon and star as a K.C.M.G. I hope you won't refuse, and I assure you that it gives me great pleasure to be the medium thro' whom this communication is made. In the uncertain state of political matters in England, it is impossible to say what colonial minister may lay the Governor-General's recommendation before the Queen, but whether Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone is First Minister, Lord Lansdowne's nomination will be equally successful.

You persuaded Stephen to accept the honour. Let me persuade you.

With kind regards to Mrs. Smith,

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
John A. Macdonald.

The Hon. Donald A. Smith.

From Donald A. Smith, Esq. to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal, 28th January, 1886.

Private and Confidential.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,

I feel greatly honoured by the desire of Lord Lansdowne to recommend me for a decoration as a K.C.M.G., a distinction I should doubly prize in that the suggestion comes from yourself, and from the very kind terms in which, in your letter marked private and confidential of the 25th instant, you inform me of His Excellency's wish.

When I had the pleasure of seeing you yesterday, you were good enough, while referring to a letter from the Governor-in-Council addressed to me

by the Secretary of State in 1872, to say that you considered my services as special commissioner during the Red River insurrection of 1869-70 in themselves deserved being recognized in the manner proposed, and should His Excellency, on becoming aware of the circumstances, entirely concur in this view of the case, I shall, as a recognition of these services, willingly accept and highly appreciate the honour.

My wife, who is greatly obliged for your good wishes, sends you her kind regards.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
DONALD A. SMITH.

The Right Hon'ble
Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B.,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne

Earnscliffe, Ottawa,

3rd February, 1886.

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,

With Your Excellency's sanction, I asked the Hon. D. A. Smith whether it would be agreeable to him that you should submit his name to Her Majesty's Government, as deserving of the honour of being created a K.C.M.G. and I am glad to say that he accepts and highly appreciates the honour.

Before the transfer of the North West Territories by the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada, Mr. Smith held high office in the Company, and on the transfer, when an armed insurrection under L. Riel resisted in 1869-70 the occupation of the country by Canada or Canadians, he was appointed special commissioner by the Dominion Government to deal with the insurgents.

He then went with his life in his hand to Fort Garry (now Winnipeg), and for his success received the thanks, first of Lt. Governor Archibald, and then of the Governor-General in Council, and for these services might well have received special recognition from Her Majesty's Government.

Since that time, Mr. Smith has never ceased to interest himself, by personal exertion and pecuniary expenditure, in the development of the great North West, and there and elsewhere in Canada, has been a benefactor to various useful and benevolent institutions.

Your Excellency is aware of the devoted and self sacrificing manner in which he pledged his large fortune and great credit to prevent the possibility of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company failing in carrying to successful completion their great undertaking, so important to Canada and so valuable to the mother country.

Under all these circumstances I have no doubt that Her Majesty's Government will cordially respond to Your Excellency's recommendation.

Believe me,
dear Lord Lansdowne,
faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Donald A. Smith, Esq.

February 27th, 1886.

Private & Confidential.

MY DEAR MR. SMITH,

I have received your favour of the 23rd on the subject of the proposed decoration for yourself.

I quite appreciate your feeling that the great service done by you in the North West in 69 & 70.[*sic*] I think I sent you a copy of my letter to Lord Lansdowne, in which I made special reference to those services when you took your life in your hand, and I ventured to state that for them you might well have received "special recognition from Her Majesty's Government."

I then went on to say that your services had not ceased with the incidents of the first rising, &c., &c.

Lord Lansdowne has, I doubt not, sent, either my letter itself, or its substance to the Colonial Office, with his recommendation—so that when the decoration arrives, it will be based on your special services I have no doubt, beginning with 69–70 and continuing to the present time. I am glad to gather from your letter that you have recovered from your recent illness.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. Donald A. Smith.

From Erastus Wiman, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Rapid Transit Railroad Company

New York, February 10th, 1886.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD,
Ottawa, Canada.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Would you like to get rid of Poundmaker,[1] the Indian, who, I understand, is a prisoner? It is rather a strange idea, but Sitting Bull, when he was a prisoner of the United States Government, was rendered innoxious by being taken out by "Buffalo Bill" as a curiosity, and exhibited through the country in his great show "The Wild West". This show intends to exhibit on Staten Island during the summer months. I have a very large interest, as you perhaps know, in the traffic between Staten Island and New York, and this is one of the attractions we are going to use. The "Wild West" show is an exhibition that draws immensely, even better than Barnum's "Greatest Show on Earth", the chief attractions being Indian games, Indian celebrities, robbing mail coaches, races, &c., The best people in the United States go to see it, and I think at Ottawa last year it was largely patronized. Buffalo Bill (who is a member of the Nebraska Legislature) and Mr. Saulsbury, are the owners of this show, and are anxious to get hold of Poundmaker. They have asked me whether I would not intercede with you for the loan of him, on condition that he was treated well and returned in good order; perhaps he could be rendered innoxious by a permanent engagement for 4 or 5 years. He could make more money in that way than in any other, and it might be a relief to you. All expenses would be paid, of course, and an arrangement made with him that would be advantageous to the Government.

I do not know to whom I should write except to you, though I presume our good friend, Mr. Thomas White, has him practically in his charge. If you think there is any chance of getting possession of Poundmaker, I should like to hear from you in a few lines, suggesting what should be done. I will see that good bonds are given for his safe return or his good conduct, if our friends get hold of him, and he will be "trained up in the way he should go".

Among your mail to-day you will get no request more singular than this. At the same time, it may have some interest for you.

I hope you are well, and trust soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, and am,

Faithfully yours,
ERASTUS WIMAN.

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[1] Poundmaker, Chief of the Cree Indians, was a participator in the Riel uprising of 1885, and was taken prisoner about the time of Riel's capture. After being confined for some time in the Regina gaol, he was subsequently pardoned and released. Sir John's reply to this extraordinary proposal of Mr. Wiman, if he made one, does not appear to have been preserved.

From Sir John Macdonald to Archbishop Taschereau.[1]

Private.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 10th March, 1886.

My dear Lord Archbishop,

The news that His Holiness is about to elevate you to the Cardinalate at the next Consistory, although not official, is sufficiently authentic to warrant me in offering your Grace my most sincere congratulations. The honour thus conferred is of a twofold nature. First, it is a great compliment to the French Canadian people who are a nation of good Catholics, and, second, because in selecting your Grace, the Pope has chosen one who will be an honour to the high rank of Prince of the Church. It affords me infinite gratification to feel that in my humble way I have had something to do with calling the attention of the Vatican to the subject. When I spoke to the Marquess of Salisbury, then Prime Minister, he entered warmly into the proposal, and advised me to see Cardinal Manning with whom I had the honour of a previous acquaintance. He, at the same time, told me that, through the Duke of Norfolk, the leader of the English Catholics, he would move Cardinal Howard, who was then at Rome, to press the claims of the diocese of Quebec and of your Grace as the incumbent of that historic diocese, to the position of Cardinal. After seeing Lord Salisbury, I went directly to Cardinal Manning, who at once saw the justice and the importance of the suggestion, and promised to write that very day to Rome.

I hope that all the good Catholics of the Dominion of Canada will appreciate the honour conferred upon them by your elevation.

Trusting that I may soon be able to address your Grace as your Eminence,

Believe me,
My dear Lord Archbishop,
Yours very sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

The Most Reverend
The Archbishop of Quebec,
Quebec.

[1] The Most Reverend Elzéar Alexandre Taschereau, Archbishop of Quebec; created a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church by Pope Leo XIII on the 7th June, 1886. Died, 12th April, 1898.

From the Archbishop of Quebec to Sir John Macdonald.

Archevêché de Québec,
Québec, 13 mars, 1886.

L'Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald
&c., &c., &c.,
Ottawa.

Honorable Monsieur,

Je vois par votre lettre d'hier que vous avez eu une grande part à l'événement que la rumeur annonce comme devant avoir lieu bientôt. Si je ne considérais que ma personne je serais tenté de me plaindre contre tous ceux qui ont contribué à me faire placer sur les épaules un nouveau fardeau qui pourrait les écraser. Mais puisque vous avez voulu témoigner votre estime pour tout le peuple canadien français et faire participer tous les Catholiques du Canada et, en un certain sens, le Canada entier, à la gloire de cette promotion, je dois me soumettre à ce qu'il a plu à la divine Providence d'ordonner.

Veuillez agréer l'assurance de mon entier dévouement.

+ E. A. Arch. de Québec.

From His Eminence Cardinal Manning to Sir John Macdonald.

Archbishop's House,
Westminster, S. W.,
April 3, 1886.

My dear Sir John Macdonald,

I have reason to hope that my letter to the Holy Father has not been without result, and that in the next Consistory, you will find your wishes fulfilled. Let me thank you for giving me the opportunity of doing the least act in showing my veneration for the Church in Canada.

And now I hope you will let me commend to your kind care a young man in whom I take much interest, Mr. Edmund Cowen,[1] son of a very excellent family.

He has just passed the Civil Service examination of your Government; and is a very trustworthy and intelligent young man.

I have made him known to the Bishop of Ottawa; and he is well known to Mr. Barry Hayes, who has shown him much kindness. Believe me

My dear Sir John,
Yours very truly,
+ Henry E. Card Manning.
Archbishop of Westminster.

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[1] Mr. Cowen received a clerkship in the Department of Public Works at Ottawa. In the month of August, 1889, he was run over by a railway train at Chatham, Ontario, and received injuries necessitating the amputation of both legs, from the shock of which he died.

From Sir John Macdonald to the (3rd) Marquess of Salisbury.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 9th April, 1886.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

The application that was made to Rome last winter for a Cardinal's Hat for one of the Canadian hierarchy has, I am glad to say, been successful. Cardinal Manning, immediately after I saw you, wrote to Rome, of which I think I informed your Lordship before I left England for Canada. At that time you were good enough to promise to interest Cardinal Howard, through the Duke of Norfolk, in this matter.

The Catholics of Canada, and especially the French Canadians, are delighted at this honour conferred upon their church here, and it is of some political importance that it should be known that the Conservative Government, of which you are the honoured head, interested themselves in securing the honour to Canada. My object in troubling your Lordship just now is to know how far I may venture to state your action in the matter. I don't want the present ministry in England to gain any *kudos* here in Canada from the fact that the appointment was made after they took office.

Pray pardon me for writing you at a time when your hands are so full, and

Believe me,
dear Lord Salisbury,
Yours very truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Most Honourable
The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.,
20 Arlington Street,
London, W., England.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

97, Cromwell Road, S. W.,
April 12th, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

We were greatly distressed here to learn that you had been so ill, but delighted to find that you were getting all right again. You cannot

imagine how widespread the anxiety was until I gave Pope's cable to me to the press.

I congratulate you most heartily on the triumph you have again scored in the Riel[1] matter, and read your racy description of the whole affair with great interest. I was not surprised to hear that Thompson had won golden opinions from all our friends, and had fully justified all I had said to you of him. If you can inspire him with a little more fire, he will prove invaluable to you and our cause. Even Campbell will come to appreciate the importance of having a minister of justice in the Commons. I am afraid, from what you tell me, that my step in the Order did not give my old colleagues the pleasure that I think it ought to have done. I cannot help it. It was the outcome of as unselfish work as was ever done for Canada. I thank *you* very much for your kind congratulations, which I know were as sincere as they were hearty. The Duke of Abercorn pressed me to-day to move a resolution on Wednesday evening at the theatre where Lord Salisbury and the Marquess of Hartington are to join hands. He said they were both anxious that I would consent in aiding them to support the unity of the Empire against Mr. Gladstone's proposals. I told him that I regarded an attitude of open hostility to the Government of the day as incompatible with my position, but I confess I was strongly tempted.

Ever yours faithfully,
CHARLES TUPPER.

From the Marquess of Salisbury to Sir John Macdonald.

Hatfield House,
Hatfield, Herts.,
April 15th, 86.

Private.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am very much obliged to you for your very friendly letter. I am very glad to hear that the application has been successful, and should not object —but the contrary—to the French Canadians knowing that in such a matter they had our active sympathy, but we have some very odd people at home, who might, I fear, be scandalized if you went into any details. * * *

I earnestly hope that another matter in which you were keenly interested has prospered—I mean the postal contract for the Pacific. We did what we could to forward it.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
SALISBURY.

The Right Honble.
Sir John Macdonald, G.C.B.

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[1] See "The Day of Sir John Macdonald" by Sir J. Pope, pp. 132–133.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lt.-Governor of Nova Scotia.[1]

Private and Confidential. *Ottawa, 14th May, 1886.*

My dear Richey,

I see your ministers are going to dissolve.

The permission to grant or refuse a dissolution rests with you, as well as to fix the time for holding the elections. As important issues are, it is said, to go before the people, you should, I think, insist that they should not be taken by surprise and that ample time should be given them for consideration.

Your Legislature's legal term of existence expires, I take it, on the return day of the writs of election, and no election need be held until after that day.

Should your ministers found their advice for an early dissolution, on the ground that they desire an immediate expression of the will of the people as to their remaining in the Confederation—you will, I have no doubt, feel it your duty as a Dominion officer, to decline to allow that subject to enter into consideration at all. The representatives of Nova Scotia as to all questions respecting the relations between the Dominion and the Province sit in the Dominion Parlt. and are the constitutional exponents of the wishes of the people with regard to such relations. The Provincial members have their powers restricted to the subjects mentioned in the B.N.A. Act and can go no further. I write you confidentially, but if necessary you will be supported by the whole weight of the Dominion Govt.

Yours sincerely,

John A. Macdonald.

Lt. Gov. Richey.

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[1] Mr. M. H. Richey, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. Mr. Richey's advisers brought on a Provincial General Election at that time, with the object of ascertaining the popular feeling as to Nova Scotia remaining in the Confederation. The position of the Lieutenant-Governor, a federal officer, in these circumstances, was one of no little embarrassment.

From Sir John Macdonald to C. W. Bunting, Esq.[1]

Earnscliffe, Ottawa.
Private & Confidential. *25th May, 1886.*

My dear Bunting,

The Conservative Catholics all over the Dominion complain greatly, and I think with some justice, of the course of the *Mail*.

You must remember that your paper is considered in all parts of the Dominion as the organ of the Government. Now you believe, rightly or wrongly, that the Conservative party has no chance of getting any support from the Irish Catholics in Ontario. I do not agree in that opinion, but you may be right. It is certain, however, that we get a strong support from the Catholics as a whole in the Dominion. P. E. Island is nearly half Catholic, and we have a strong support there. So it is in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Island of Cape Breton is strongly Catholic, and returns Conservatives to a man.

I enclose to you for your perusal a private paper signed by Conservative Catholics from Quebec, Nova Scotia, P. E. Island and New Brunswick, remonstrating against the course of your paper. Please read and return. Our Conservative Catholic friends in Ontario are greatly distressed, depend upon it, and I am receiving letters from many of them asking what they have done to be abandoned in this fashion.

Pray consider this well. I really think it would be highly expedient in you to come down and see our friends here, Catholic and Protestant, at once, before the House rises. You should come down at once.

I greatly grieve to see your continued ill luck in the way of fire. I hope there is no suspicion of incendiarism. In haste.

Yours faithfully,
John A. Macdonald.

C. W. Bunting, Esq.

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[1] Managing director of the Toronto *Mail* newspaper, which journal, under the editorial management of Mr. Edward Farrer, began, about this time, a violent anti-French and anti-Catholic crusade, which injuriously affected the interests of the Liberal Conservative party throughout the Dominion.

From the Archbishop of Quebec to Sir John Macdonald.

Au Très Honorable
Sir John A. Macdonald, G. C. B.
Membre du Conseil Privé de Sa Majesté,
Premier Ministre du Canada.

Monsieur le Premier Ministre,

Je me fais un devoir de vous informer qu'il a plu à Sa Sainteté le Souverain Pontife Léon XIII, d'élever en ma personne, l'un des fidèles sujets de Sa Majesté au Canada, à la haute dignité de Cardinal de la Sainte Eglise Romaine.

Je prie Dieu, Monsieur, pour le rétablissement de votre santé, et pour la continuelle prospérité du Canada, aux destinées duquel vous présidez depuis longtemps.

J'ai l'honneur d'être
Monsieur le Premier Ministre
Votre très humble serviteur
+ E. A. Arch. de Québec.

Archevêché de Québec
7 juin, 1886.

From Sir John Macdonald to His Eminence Cardinal Manning.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, June 12, 1886.

My dear Lord Cardinal,

I was delighted to get the note of Your Eminence informing me that His Holiness was about to confer the high dignity of the Cardinalate on Archbishop Taschereau.

He has since been officially informed of his elevation, and I can assure Your Eminence that you have gratified beyond expression, some two millions of Catholics by your exertions in this cause. Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of the French Canadians. They consider it an especial honour conferred on their race as well as their religion, and I have not failed to inform Archbishop Taschereau and my French Canadian colleagues in the Government, of your kind intervention.

Sir Hector Langevin, our Minister of Public Works, has at my request promised to take care of your *protégé* young Cowen. It is the best Department in the Civil Service here for chance of promotion, and I have no doubt he will get on.

He is a gentlemanlike young man of taking manners, and likely, I think, to succeed socially as well as in the pursuit he has entered upon.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Cardinal,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Eminence
Cardinal Manning.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Ottawa, June 21, 1886.

MY DEAR TUPPER,

You will have seen long ere this reaches you, that Fielding[1] has defeated the Conservatives on the Secession cry—horse, foot and artillery. Never was there such a rout. McLelan has come back from his inglorious campaign and gives no intelligent account of the disaster. Thompson is to be here on Wednesday, and we shall know more about it. . . . So soon as you can be spared from the Exhibition, you must come out and take stock of the position.

We are not in a flourishing state in the present state of public opinion—what with Riel, Home Rule, the Knights of Labour and the Scott Act. We have rocks ahead, and great skill must be exercised in steering the ship. I shall write you when I see Thompson.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University to Sir John Macdonald.

Christ's College Lodge,
Cambridge, June 22nd, 1886.

SIR,

I am directed by the Council of the Senate of this University to intimate to you their anxiety to offer to you the highest honour at their disposal—the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws.

[1] The Hon. William Stevens Fielding; from 1884 to 1896, Premier of Nova Scotia. From 1896 to 1911, Finance Minister of Canada in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier; M.P. for Shelburne and Queen's from 1896 to 1911, in which year he was defeated; Reëlected in 1917 for the same constituency.

Should you be pleased to accept it, they are anxious that you should receive it on July 9, a day on which a large party organized by the Reception Committee of the Exhibition, are expected to visit Cambridge.

We consider that such action on your part would much enhance the interest of their visit, and would be gratifying to them, as it would be to us.

An answer addressed to me at the Athenæum, Pall Mall, will find me there until Saturday.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient, faithful servant,
C. A. SWAINSON,
Vice Chancellor.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Macdonald,
&c., &c.,
Premier of Canada.

From the Hon. J. S. Thompson to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, 25th June, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

It occurs to me that I can do one thing to lessen some of the anxieties that you will be feeling in considering the problem which Nova Scotia politics now present.

Doubtless you will have many letters from Nova Scotia advising the recall of Sir Charles Tupper, and the question of consequent changes in the Cabinet will present itself in that connection. I beg you will at all times consider my place in Council at your command, if you desire to use it for any such purpose. While it will always be a pleasure to me to serve under your leadership, I am willing to serve in the ranks whenever you need another to take my post.

I thought I could say this with more freedom thus, by letter—than when these matters come up for discussion.

I remain,
My dear sir John,
Yours sincerely,
J. S. D. THOMPSON.

In the summer of 1886 Sir John Macdonald undertook a journey to the Pacific coast over the newly constructed Canadian Pacific Railway. Leaving Ottawa on the 10th July, the Prime Minister and Lady Macdonald travelled to Vancouver (or rather to Port Moody, which at that date marked the terminus of the railway), very comfortably, thanks to special arrangements made by the Company, which rendered the party independent of regular trains. Going west we travelled only by day, stopping off at Winnipeg, Regina, and Gleichen where the Premier held a *pow-wow*

with the Blackfeet Indians assembled to do him honour under the presidency of their Chief, Crowfoot. In this leisurely manner it was not until the 24th July that we arrived at our journey's end. Sir John's reception at Victoria was most cordial, and his visit proved so entertaining that it was prolonged for several weeks, during which period he was the recipient in a marked degree of that delightful hospitality for which the queen city of the West is noted.

On the 13th August, Sir John formally opened the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, driving the last spike at Cowichan, and afterwards visited the coal mines at Nanaimo and Wellington. Crossing over to New Westminster, the guest of Mr. Robert Dunsmuir, he remained there overnight, proceeding next day to Vancouver, where he took steamer for Port Moody, and thence to Port Hammond, rejoining his train there on the 16th. The return journey was broken by a stay of some days at Winnipeg, Ottawa being reached on the 30th August. Though he said but little at the time, I could see that he was much gratified and invigorated by this tour in which many hopes and aspirations were realized.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne.

Driard House,
Victoria, B.C., July 29th, 1886.

Dear Lord Lansdowne,

In the uncertainty of mails between B. C. and Quebec I have thought it better to direct my letters to you direct to England.

In *re* the headland question[1]: I am strongly of opinion that the policy of the past should be continued, and the settlement of the question postponed; at all events, until all hope of a renewed treaty is abandoned.

The subject has been exhaustively discussed by the diplomacy of both nations, and nothing now remains to be said. England and Canada think they are in the right,

[1] i. e., as to whether the territorial waters of Canada, from which United States fishermen are excluded by the Treaty of 1818, should be measured, in the case of bays, from the shores, or from a line, drawn between headland and headland, across the mouths of all bays, gulfs, or indentations of the coast.

nd the American Government, right or wrong, dare not eld in the face of their fierce democracy. The only solution herefore of the difficulty, is a reference to a friendly power or selected jurisconsult. In case of such a reference, should ne decision be against the pretensions of the United States, ne irritation there—fomented as it would be by demagogues f the Blaine stamp—would be so great as to preclude the ossibility of a friendly negotiation for a reciprocity treaty, ther general, or affecting the fisheries only. This con-deration induced Canada heretofore to refrain from in-sting on the exclusion of American fishermen from our bays, nd H. M. Government approved of this view. We might, *fter* the Washington Treaty was ratified, have suggested a eference of the headland question, but both the British and merican negotiators of the Treaty were impressed with he idea that it would be permanent, and that it would be ell "to let sleeping dogs lie."

The result of the exclusion of the U. S. fishing vessels rom our waters during the present season, will probably nduce the Gloucester fishermen to look more favourably han before on a renewal of the fishery clauses, and we should ndeavour to secure a long term—say of 20 years—in any ew arrangement. That once effected, the headlands matter might be referred; and whatever the decision might e, there would be ample time afforded to allow any feeling f irritation which might arise, either in the United States or anada, to pass off. The fishing season will be practically ver in October, and we can between that time and the meet-ng of Congress be pretty well able to judge what are the rospects of an arrangement.

I began this note six days ago, but have been so inter-upted that I now only close it on the 3rd August.

Believe me,
dear Lord Lansdowne,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

P.S. A gentleman of standing from Philadelphia has just told me that Blaine is coming out with a manifesto in September, hostile to England on the fishery and other questions.

The three years succeeding the General Elections of 1882, in which the voters emphatically renewed the confidence they had given to Sir John Macdonald in 1878, marked the zenith of the great leader's second administration. The execution of Louis Riel in November, 1885, caused a breach in the ranks of the Lower Canadian supporters of the ministry, and from that time the fortunes of the Conservative party began to wane. In October, 1886, occurred the provincial general elections in Quebec, resulting in the defeat of the local Conservative Government (which suffered vicariously for the alleged offences of its political friends at Ottawa), and the accession to power of Mr. Honoré Mercier, whose sudden rise by the scaffold of Regina threatened serious consequences to the government of Sir John Macdonald, and although these did not develop at the time, nor indeed in his lifetime, yet a serious blow was dealt to the unity of his party throughout the Dominion. It was with a view of checking the progress of the schism caused by that event, that Sir John Macdonald undertook an electoral campaign in Ontario in the autumn following his return from British Columbia.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Private.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, October 15th, 1886.

My dear Tupper,

The triumph of the Rouges over the corpse of Riel changes the aspect of affairs, *quoad* the Dominion Government, completely.

It will encourage the Grits and opposition generally; will dispirit our friends, and will, I fear, carry the country against us at the general election. My Quebec colleagues have not returned to town, and until their arrival we cannot take stock of the position. I shall write you when we do. But at present it seems to me that you must take hold of Nova Scotia. * * *

Yours sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

97, Cromwell Road,
November 15, 1886.

My dear Sir John,

I duly received your letter of October 15th and have been awaiting your promised letter when you had seen your Quebec colleagues. I do not share your fears that you will be beaten at the general election, as the success of the Riel party will alarm the other provinces. I enclose an extract from Charlie's letter which shows that I was not mistaken as to the prospect in Nova Scotia, and confirms me in the opinion that I am not needed there! No one but a Minister can effectually organize the party, and Thompson going to several of the counties with Charlie, will do it better than I could. Both White and Foster created a splendid impression, and when a meeting is held in Digby, one of your French colleagues could do good service and make that county safe. I hope Mr. Schreiber[1] will go to the C.P.R. and be replaced by Pottinger. It would relieve the Government of the great unpopularity of the former, and strengthen you in Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, Hants and Halifax, very much.

I have taken care to inform the Prince of Wales, as you desired, that Canada will give the £20,000 to the Jubilee fund, whatever form it may take.

I will write you fully upon the Institute matter so soon as anything is decided. Two serious obstructions have sprung up in opposition to the Prince's plan. The Chamber of Commerce object to its being———* and the theatres object to the attractions of the gardens and music, and both these points will have to be yielded to get the money.

Yours sincerely,
Charles Tupper.

From Sir John Rose, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

18, Queen's Gate,
4th December, 1886.

Dear Macdonald,

As one of my dearest and best friends, I must write and tell you, that I am the victim of an epidemic that seems to spare no age!—and am again

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[1] Mr. (afterward Sir) Collingwood Schreiber, K.C.M.G., for many years Chief Engineer, and from 1892 until 1905 Deputy Minister of the Department of Railways and Canals. Sir Collingwood enjoyed in a high degree the confidence of Sir John Macdonald, who was Minister of Railways and Canals at the time of his death. It is related that at a Cabinet meeting, Sir John met a suggestion that Mr. Schreiber should be retired, by smiting the table violently with his fist, accompanying his action with the angry exclamation: "When Schreiber goes, I go." Mr. Schreiber was made a C.M.G. in 1893, and received his *K* in 1916. Died, 23rd March, 1918.

*Three words indecipherable.

going to be married. The solitary life seems to be more unendurable than ever, and a lady, who has also had her great sorrow, thinks—as I do—we may find some happiness in each other's companionship for what is left of our lives. She is a widow—over 40, no children—originally a Miss Stewart-Mackenzie from Inverness, and now the widow of the late Lord Tweeddale. I hope some day you may meet her, and I know you will like her.

I meant to have written to you long ago—to thank you for your most welcome and interesting letter written on your return from British Columbia.

I have been anxiously looking for what was to come to pass about the *elections*, but I have an abiding belief in your star! You shall have a letter soon, but other people's affairs have kept me very full of work.

My kindest remembrances to Lady Macdonald and remain as ever,

Yours most sincerely,

JOHN ROSE.

From Sir John Macdonald to Lieutenant-Governor the Hon. L. R. Masson

Private and Confidential.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, December 8th, 1886.

MY DEAR MASSON,

I have been thinking now and again of writing you on the subject of the present position of affairs in Quebec, and I am quite sure you will understand the spirit in which I now write. The position, I take, to be this—Mr. Ross[1] had a majority when he went to the country. The result has been that his party is apparently in a majority, and the normal opposition led by M. Mercier[2] is also apparently in a minority. I say *apparently*, because the only constitutional way of ascertaining how parties stand, is by a vote of the Assembly. There is a third party, *apparently* opposed to both. Under the circumstances, Ross has clearly the right to meet the Legislature and submit to its decision.

Disraeli introduced the innovation of resigning without waiting for defeat by a vote. This he did, as there was in

[1] The Hon. John J. Ross, Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec from 1884 to 1887; Member of the Legislative Council of Quebec (1867–1901) of which body he was also Speaker (1879-1884); a Senator of Canada (1887–1901); Speaker of the Senate (1891-1896); sworn of the Privy Council 1st May, 1896; a Minister without portfolio in the Cabinet of Sir Charles Tupper. Died, 4th May, 1901.

[2] Honoré Mercier, then leader of the opposition in the Provincial Legislature, Premier of the Province of Quebec (1887–1892).

is opinion an undoubted majority against him, and great difficulty, or rather inconvenience would arise as to matters of supply—if he waited. He need not have done so however —it rested with him entirely whether to advise the Queen to accept his resignation or to abide his fate when the House met. Gladstone followed his example, against the known wishes of his colleagues, and out of mere vexation at his defeat. The best constitutional authorities in England say that these two precedents were unfortunate, and should be avoided in the future.

Lord Dufferin told Mackenzie in 1878 that, as he was beaten by a large majority, he ought not to cling to office, but if Mackenzie had stated that he would abide the decision of Parliament, Lord Dufferin would have submitted.

In the Quebec case no party has apparently a majority, and therefore Ross is still armed with all the powers of your constitutional adviser.

I need not tell you that in my opinion the best interests of the Dominion would be prejudiced by M. Mercier forming a Government. I feel sure that you, as an individual, agree with me, and that as a Governor you would do what you properly and constitutionally could, to prevent such a calamity falling on Quebec. Now I understand, but not from Ross, that he would like, from the bad state of his health, to leave office, if some reputable man of his party were sent for to form a new administration.

The matter rests with you, and I should trust that you would save the country from untold disasters by accepting Ross's advice as to his successor.

I can assure you that I feel greatly the responsibility of writing you, but we are both lovers of our country, and should not hesitate to act and to speak, when we think its best interests are involved.

Always my dear Masson,
Most sincerely yours
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Honour
Lt. Governor Masson.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Private and Confidential. *On the train,*
20th December, 1886.

My dear Tupper,

I am on my way back to Ottawa after a successful tour in Western Ontario. We have made a very good impression, and I think will hold our own in the Province. We have however lost nearly the whole Catholic vote by the course of the *Mail*, and this course has had a prejudicial effect, not only in Ontario, but throughout the Dominion, and has therefore introduced a great element of uncertainty in a good many constituencies.

In Nova Scotia the outlook is bad, and the only hope of our holding our own there is your immediate return and vigorous action. It may be necessary that you should, even if only for a time, return to the Cabinet. McLelan, I know would readily make way for you. Now the responsibility on you is very great, for should any disaster arise because of your not coming out, the whole blame will be thrown on you.

I see that Anglin is now starring it in Nova Scotia. I send you an extract from a condensed report of his remarks which appeared in the Montreal *Gazette*. This is a taking programme for the Maritime Provinces, and has to be met, and no one can do it but yourself. But enough of Dominion politics.

I cannot in conclusion too strongly press upon you the absolute necessity of your coming out at once, and do not like to contemplate the evil consequence of your declining to do so.

I shall cable you the time for holding our election the moment it is settled.

Believe me
Yours faithfully.
John A. Macdonald.

The Honourable
Sir Charles Tupper, G.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

From Sir George Stephen, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

25, St. James's Place, S. W.
New Year's Day, 1887.

My dear Sir John,

In sending you my New Year's good wishes by cable to-day, I could not help a feeling that it savoured somewhat of mockery. It is surely "hard lines' that it should be necessary for you, after a service of over 40 years, to undergo the physical and mental labour and turmoil which I see by the papers have been your daily task ever since I left Canada in October last. It does seem to me to be a cruel fate, though I do not overlook the fact that the work may have compensations for you which I am not qualified to appreciate. Still, for all that, I would like much to see you taking some steps to secure, at least, some freedom from the active drudgery of public life.

Smith tells me that you were looking and feeling wonderfully well when he left. I most sincerely hope you will continue to do so until your worry is over. I am taking it for granted that the general elections will take place at once. It is *impossible* for me to believe they will not go in your favour. The Leader of the Opposition I regard as an enemy to Canada.

What do you think of Randy? His escapade did not surprise me—he is too uncertain a bird to be trusted—he cannot trust himself. Anybody else in the Exchequer will be better for us. His desire to startle by a sensational budget, was against our Pacific subsidy, which I hope will soon be settled—the delay is most trying. We shall make good use of your cable to Tupper when the Government is once more completed. At present the idea is that Smith will take the Exchequer.

Of course you have heard of Rose's marriage to Lady Tweeddale. She is a very nice woman, and her being a Marchioness does not lessen her attractions in Rose's eyes. I think upon the whole that the step is a wise one for him to take. His children have all 'flown the nest', leaving him without a home. We are dining with him to-morrow alone to meet 'Julia.' I fear it will rather go against the grain with me to see anyone at 18 Queensgate in poor dear Lady Rose's place, but I daresay I shall soon get over that, as I really feel that the marriage is a very good thing for both the parties concerned.

My kindest regards and best wishes for the New Year to Lady Macdonald and to Mary.

Believe me,
Always yours,
Geo. Stephen.

From Sir John Macdonald to C. W. Bunting, Esq.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, January 3rd, 1887.

DEAR BUNTING,

There is no use in crying over spilt milk—the mischief is done,[1] but I think you will admit now that the course taken by the *Mail* has not only resulted in Meredith's defeat, but prejudiced the Conservative party throughout the Dominion.

I don't wish to reproach you, but think you are bound, in justice to myself and the leaders of the Conservative party, to state that the course taken by you, was taken from conscientious motives and notwithstanding our strong and continued remonstrances. This should be done at once and in a leading article in the *Mail*.

The announcement is all the more necessary from the fact that the *Mail* is going to pursue the same course—be the consequences what they may!

The *Mail* having taken that stand, gives me, I think, a right to ask this avowal at your hands.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

C. W. Bunting, Esq.

From Governor-General The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, January 4th, 1886. [*sic*] *1887.*[2]

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have told Lord Salisbury that I do not see my way to joining his Government as things now stand, and that if he wants 'yea' or 'nay' by

[1] With a view to assisting his party in the approaching Dominion elections, Mr. (afterward Sir) Oliver Mowat suddenly dissolved the Ontario Legislature, and brought on the Provincial General Elections, in which he was successful, though how far the *coup* helped his Ottawa friends is problematical. Mr. (afterward Sir) W. R. Meredith here alluded to, was the leader of the Opposition in the Ontario House.

[2] The date of this letter should be 1887. The offer was made by Lord Salisbury at the time of the reorganization of his cabinet consequent upon the resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill in December, 1886. See Winston Churchill's "Life of Lord Randolph Churchill," Vol. II, p. 273.

able, it must be 'nay'. This will, I imagine, terminate the incident, as they say in France.

I tell you this at once, as I know that you take a friendly interest in what is happening.

Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

Privy Council Office, Canada.
Ottawa,
January 25th, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

As I have not been able to convince you that it was best for me to remain in England—I beg to say in the outset that as a good party man I am entirely at your disposal. I will go to Nova Scotia and make the best fight I can in support of our party and then return to England, or I will resign my office and contest my old constituency as a private member, or as a member of the Government, as you may decide. Or, if you prefer it I will contest Mr. Blake's constituency with him. I think I could probably be of most service to the Government if I took the portfolio of Railways and Canals. But in whatever way you think I can best serve the interests of our party, will be equally agreeable to

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES TUPPER.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald

Montreal, February 23rd, 1887.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I must send you a word of congratulation upon the result of the elections[1] which appear to justify the most sanguine of the expectations in which your friends permitted themselves to indulge.

There are many reasons which would have led me to regret a change of Government at the present moment, but, without reference to these, it would have been very painful to me to sever, towards the close of my term of office, a connection which has been so pleasant to me during the years which I have spent in this country.

We shall, I think, return to Ottawa on Monday or Tuesday. There are several matters which, now that the elections are over, require consideration. You may like to read the enclosed private note from Sir Henry Holland. You are, I think, disposed to concur in the opinion which he expresses, that our fishery officers might be specially instructed to avoid a strict insistence upon the literal compliance with the requirements of

[1] The General Elections held on the 22nd February, 1887, at which Sir John Macdonald's Government was sustained by a considerable majority.

the Customs laws, where there are reasonable grounds for believing that the vessel has resorted to our waters for a lawful purpose. The issue of such instructions would, I think, have a good effect. You will perhaps discuss this point with Mr. Thompson and Mr. Foster.

By the way, it is remarkable that the whole of your colleagues are re-elected.

When would you like Parliament to be summoned?

We should, I think, lose no time in naming our representative at the Colonial Conference. Would it be possible to make any arrangement by which Sir A. Campbell might go over before actually assuming office at Toronto? [1]

Yours sincerely,
L.

From Sir Donald Smith to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Montreal, 24th February, 1887.*

My dear Sir John,

I heartily congratulate you on your personal double victory, and also on the result of the elections, which shows that the great body of electors were alive to their own interests. Friends in Montreal acted admirably, but the tactics of our opponents were anything but creditable to them.

I was not aware that Blake and Wiman had joined hands in the effort to carry constituencies by the weight of American dollars—a most unrighteous compact, which ought to make their defeat all the more welcome to every one having a spark of patriotism or manly feeling in him.

The idea of sending a special messenger to look after the North West territory is a good one. McDowall[2] is, I believe, a worthy fellow, but wanting in stamina and requires backing. Hardisty, with Davis out of the way, will do well enough, but as you say, there is time enough for this.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
Donald A. Smith.

From the R. Hon. W. H. Smith[3] to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *10, Downing Street,*
Whitehall, 26th February, 1887.

My dear Sir John,

Let me offer you my hearty congratulations. I watched the contest with anxiety and I regard the issue as of great importance to the unity and stability of the Empire.

Yours very sincerely,
W. H. Smith.

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[1] As Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, to which office he had recently been appointed. Sir Alexander Campbell went to the Colonial Conference as the representative of Canada, and did not assume office at Toronto until the 1st June, 1887.

[2] D. H. McDowall, in 1887 M.P. for Saskatchewan.

[3] Secretary of State for War in Lord Salisbury's second administration.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor General the Marquess of Lansdowne.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, March 15th, 1887.

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,

I brought up the Pacific steamer subsidy in Council yesterday afternoon. Canada made no offer to contribute to the proposed line, and is not prepared to do so at present. The action of the Imperial Government is extraordinary.

In 1885, the Imperial Postmaster General called for tenders for a mail line from British Columbia to China and Japan, with a minimum speed of eleven knots. The C.P.R. pointed out that such a service would be of no use to commerce of Canada or of England *via* our railway—that San Francisco had the command of that trade, and would retain it, unless the new line equalled in speed the fast steamers plying between New York and Liverpool. The Railway offered H. M. Government, for a subsidy of £100,000, to put on such a line, and to build the vessels on specifications approved by the Admiralty—So that they might be converted into ships of war or transports in case of necessity—thus adding to the strength of the British navy. This offer seemed to be favourably viewed by the Home Government, and I was informed that when Lord Salisbury resigned, he left behind him a memo. expressing the approval of the retiring Government, and commending the scheme to his successor.

Since then, I understand Sir Geo. Stephen has been in communication with the Government, but with no satisfactory result. He has not however been informed of the final refusal, as I received a cable from him on Saturday asking me to press the subject from this side. I don't know where "the reduced subsidy of £60,000" comes from. Probably Stephen has offered to accept that sum instead of £100,000 as originally asked for.

Canada considers she has done more than her share by building the C.P.R. from Halifax and Quebec to Vancouver and subsidizing the Atlantic Mail Line, and the C.P.R.'s undertaking to build the Pacific line involves an enormous expenditure if accepted.

Apparently from the cable sent Your Excellency, the Postmaster General withdraws even from the first advertisement for a mail line.

Stephen sails on 24th instant, and I think matters must remain as they are until we learn from him the intentions of his Company.

Believe me,
dear Lord Lansdowne,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, April 1, 1887.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have just received the enclosed telegram.

Art. XXIX[1] was not one of those abrogated at the time when the Fisheries clauses were denounced, and is therefore, I assume, still in operation, in spite of any legislation by Congress.

Will you tell me whether I am right?

Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

From Governor-General the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, April 2, 1887.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I shall not send an answer to the telegram about article XXIX until you have received Mr. Thompson's report. I presume, however, that we shall reply in some such terms as the following:

"We regard Article XXIX as still in force, and as not to be abrogated except by two years notice. We contend that the statute of Congress does not affect validity of article."

Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

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[1] Of the Treaty of Washington, 1871, relating to the bonding privilege. For further correspondence on this question, see letters between Sir John Macdonald and Sir John Thompson, in the Macdonald Archives, bundle 503; also letter book No. 26.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Hector Langevin,

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 3rd April, 1887.

Private & Confidential.

My dear Langevin;

My sincere friendship for you and my desire to strengthen your hands, induce me to write you on a subject of great personal and political importance to yourself. To go directly to the subject, I think you are making a mistake in not going to Chapleau's banquet at Montreal.

As to your private and social relations I haven't a word to say, but these political festivities are public matters. You are senior minister from the Province of Quebec—not from the Quebec district or that of Three Rivers. By holding back from Montreal, you do two things; you emphasize and confirm the general belief that the political relations between Chapleau and yourself are the reverse of cordial—and you actually hand over the power and influence of the Govt. in the district of Montreal, and, in a great degree of the Townships, to him.

Remember that he went to the banquet given you at Montreal, and look back at the relations between George Brown and myself. We hadn't spoken for ten long years, yet when we coalesced, we acted together, dined at all public places together, played euchre in crossing the Atlantic, and went into society in England together— And yet on the day after he resigned, we resumed our old positions and ceased to speak.

In my opinion you are playing Chapleau's game and strengthening his hands, and I will venture to say, our colleagues generally will incline to the same conclusion. Let me again say that my advice is given with the one object of serving you.

Caron and White dined with me last night. The former thinks you have gone too far with J. J. Ross to ask him to postpone the senatorship—and that besides, we must first agree, in Council, who the Senate leader is to be, and if Abbott is selected—must find out whether he will qualify

and assume the duties. This we must settle in Council to-morrow before wiring Ross to come up.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From the Hon. J. S. D. Thompson to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, 4th April, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Art. 29 of the Washington Treaty has not been abrogated. The 1st paragraph agrees (inter alia) that goods &c., arriving at New York, Boston, Portland and other ports which the President may designate, and destined for H. M. possessions in North America, may be entered and conveyed in transit without payment of duties, under such rules &c., for the protection of the revenue as the U. S. Government may prescribe.

The Edmunds Bill says that in certain events the President may prohibit the entrance into U. S. waters of vessels of the British dominions in North America.

The two provisions do not seem to come into actual conflict, although the Edmunds Bill would lessen the freedom with which the Treaty has been used by us. It would not however put an end to the bonding system.

Yours faithfully,
J. S. D. THOMPSON.

P. S. The telegram suggested by the G. G. seems very proper.
J. S. D. T.

Almost immediately after the General Elections of 1887, the Provincial leaders of the Liberal party, which at that time was in power in all the provinces, except Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, organized what was styled an Inter-Provincial conference—that is, a conference composed of the local Premiers and one or more of their leading colleagues, who met together in Quebec at the call of Mr. Mercier, to consider the question of the readjustment of the financial and other relations between the Dominion and the provinces, with an eye to embarrass the Dominion Government, which they had signally failed to defeat at the polls, and now sought to entangle in controversy, thus presenting the spectacle of the larger provinces arrayed in hostility to the Central Government as the common enemy of all. Sir John Macdonald was not to be caught in any such trap. Apart from the question of the *bona fides* of the managers of this conference, which he gravely doubted, Sir

John uniformly held to the view (since widely departed from) that the functions of the Provincial Governments are strictly limited to matters of local concern, and that the only constitutional representatives of a province in its relations with the Dominion, are the members of the Parliament of Canada from that province. He therefore declined to take part in this conference or to recognize it, on behalf of the Dominion Government, in any form.

From the Hon. Honoré Mercier to Sir John Macdonald.

Strictly confidential.

Quebec,
April 4th, 1887.

Dear Sir,

I beg respectfully to draw your attention on the statement made in the speech from the throne, at the opening of the Quebec Legislature, on the 16th ultimo, in relation to a proposed conference between the federal and provincial governments.

Before proceeding any further in carrying out this idea, I beg to solicit from you a confidential interview.

Could you favour me with such an interview Saturday or Friday afternoon (8th or 9th inst.) at Ottawa?

An answer as soon as possible at Montreal, 88 Berri Street, will oblige,

Yours truly,
Honorê Mercier.

The Right Honourable
Sir J. A. Macdonald,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. H. Mercier.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, April 6th, 1887.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 4th instant, suggesting our having a confidential interview on the subject of a proposed conference between the Federal and Provincial Governments.

As the intention of the Quebec Government to invite the Governments of the other Provinces and that of the Dominion to a conference has been formally announced in the speech from the Throne on the opening of the Quebec Legislature, it would appear to be expedient to await the

promised communication before taking any other step in the matter.

I have the honour to be,
dear Sir,
Yours truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Honble.
Honoré Mercier,
88, Berri St., Montreal.

From the Hon. Honoré Mercier to Sir John Macdonald.

Cabinet du Premier Ministre
Province de Québec.
Québec, April 14th, 1887.

DEAR SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the sixth instant, in answer to mine of the fourth instant asking you for the favour of a confidential interview in connection with the proposed conference between the provincial and the federal governments, announced in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of the Quebec Legislature, on the 16th March last.

You state in your letter that:

"It would appear to be expedient to await the promised communication before taking any other step in the matter."

I fear you have not seized the exact and precise meaning of my request, nor understood the real nature of the interview which I asked. This request was entirely confidential, as the interview would have been. There was no question of entering into official negotiations with you or with the government of which you are the head, with reference to the proposed conference. This will be done later on. My object was merely to assure you, in a friendly and confidential conversation, that the proposed conference should not be considered as a hostile act against the federal government, but really as a suitable and proper way of ascertaining in a friendly manner the means of avoiding all occasions of conflict between the provincial governments and the federal government and of improving their financial and other relations.

In order to convince you that these are really the sentiments which lead me to seek a meeting with you, I may add that I expressed them publicly in the House last night.

If, after these explanations you, come to the conclusion that a friendly and confidential interview may be had, I place myself again at your disposal.

Pray accept the assurance of my highest regard and believe me to be,

Yours very truly,
HONORÉ MERCIER.

To the Right Honourable
Sir J. A. Macdonald,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Honoré Mercier.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 28th April, 1887.

Dear Sir,

Pardon me for not answering your favour of the 14th before, but my many engagements just now are my excuse.

I shall be quite ready to meet you whenever it may suit your convenience to visit Ottawa, but deem it inexpedient that our interview should be of a confidential nature.

I remain, dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
John A. Macdonald.

The Hon. Honoré Mercier,
Premier,
Quebec.

In the session of 1887 a resolution calling for the prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors, introduced by a private member of the House of Commons supporting the Government, caused some embarrassment to several members, among others to the Hon. (now Sir) George Foster, then Minister of Marine and Fisheries in Sir John Macdonald's cabinet, who was known to be a pronounced advocate of prohibition. The resolution was defeated by a vote of 112 to 70, Mr. Foster voting with the minority.

From the Hon. George E. Foster to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Ottawa, June 14, 1887.*

My dear Sir John,

Just before the final vote[1] this morning, Sir Hector came to me and asked me how I was going to vote. I said to him that I could not do else than vote for the resolution. He said it was a serious vote, and I understood him to add that if I voted for the resolution, it was the same as voting my-

[1] On the question of Prohibition, which he supported against his colleagues in the ministry. The question, however, was not a party one. See Journals of the House of Commons, 13th June, 1887, page 274.

self out of the Government. I have thought over the matter since and concluded to drop you this note. You know the whole position so far as I am concerned, and I leave the matter in your hands. If you think my vote in any way compromised the Government, or that my remaining in the Government would embarrass it, or be against the interests of the party, you know you have but to intimate your wishes to me. I am quite enough of a party man to know and cheerfully acquiesce in the fact that the one must give way to the general good. I write thus in consequence of Sir Hector's remark. Please be quite frank with me, as I know you will.

Believe me,
dear Sir John,
Yours faithfully,
G. E. FOSTER.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. G. E. Foster.

Earnscliffe,
Confidential. *Ottawa, June 14, 1887.*

MY DEAR FOSTER,

The danger was tided over by the vote on Jamieson's resolution.

Had the Grits voted en masse for it, it might have been different.

You may think no more of what Langevin said, and after the session we can consider the future.

A vote for prohibition forced on a Government involves either resignation or a new fiscal policy, and a new system of taxation, and so is a revolution.

We can easily arrange a course to avoid, in future sessions, any cross purposes.

Meanwhile consider Sir Hector's language unsaid.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. G. E. Foster.

About this time there arose a movement in favour of what was first spoken of as Commercial Union with the United States, and which under the guise of Unrestricted Reciprocity, was afterward espoused by the Liberal party, and played such a large part in the General Elections of 1891.

In the campaign of 1887 it had scarcely been mentioned, but during the spring and summer of that year, it began to

be advocated with much persistency and skill by Professor Goldwin Smith, by Mr. Erastus Wiman—a Canadian by birth, long resident in New York—and by Congressman Butterworth, whose name was associated with a Bill prepared for the purpose of bringing about Commercial Union, by which was meant the abolition of the Customs line between Canada and the United States, and the establishment of complete reciprocity between the two countries in all products, whether natural or manufactured, together with the adoption of a common tariff against all other nations, including Great Britain. In October of the same year Sir Richard Cartwright—then regarded as the leader of the Liberals of Ontario and of the English-speaking Opposition—delivered an important speech in which he declared himself in favour of Commercial Union. This declaration stimulated the growing interest that was beginning to be taken in the subject.

For the history of this movement, see various documents in the Macdonald archives (bundle No. 462), and particularly a despatch dated the 31st October, 1887, addressed by the Marquess of Lansdowne, then Governor-General of Canada, to Sir Henry Holland, then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Rose, Bart.

Private. *Earnscliffe,*
Ottawa, 25th June, 1887.

My dear Rose,

I cabled you yesterday that the Government of Manitoba was destroying the credit of the Province. Now, as you know, the loss of credit of any one of the Provinces of the Dominion causes injury to the credit of the Dominion of which the province is a member.

The present Government at Winnipeg are altogether careless of the prestige or prosperity of their Province. The members of that Government are all impecunious, and think only of a continuation in office. When you reflect on a legislature of 35 members, with a population of some 110,000, coolly devoting a million of dollars to build a railway from Winnipeg to the frontier, between two lines owned

by the C.P.R. running in the same direction, one on the east and the other on the west side of the Red River, when there is not business enough for one of the two existing lines, you can understand the recklessness of that body.

In addition, they have passed an Act giving the Government guarantee for the interest on $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions for the construction of that most hopeless of all enterprises—the Hudson's Bay Railway—and besides all this, they have passed an Act guaranteeing under certain conditions a composition of the debts of several insolvent municipalities in the Province. If these arrangements are allowed to be carried out, the Province is bankrupt. The question of allowance or disallowance of this insane legislation now engages the attention of the Government here.

All this is of course confidential, but you will do good service both to Canada and Manitoba by discouraging on 'Change' the floating of this indebtedness. In all probability the Provincial Act authorizing the construction of the railway from Winnipeg to the boundary for which the million dollar loan is wanted, will be disallowed.

Please use this information without mentioning my name.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Right Honble.
Sir John Rose, G.C.M.G.

The termination by the United States, in July, 1885, of the fisheries clauses of the Treaty of Washington, 1871, led to a recurrence of the unpleasant incidents which marked the period following the abrogation by the U. S. Government, in 1866, of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. The Canadian Government again found themselves compelled, through no act or desire of their own, to take measures to preserve their fisheries for the use of their own people. In pursuance of this policy, U. S. fishing vessels were seized for fishing in Canadian territorial waters, or for entering Canadian ports for purposes other than those specified by the Treaty[1] of

[1] "And the United States hereby renounce forever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the Inhabitants thereof, to take, dry, or cure fish, on or within three marine miles of any of the Coasts, Bays, Creeks, or Harbours, of His Britannic

1818. In some cases these vessels, after due process of law, were confiscated. This assertion of our rights, however legitimate and unavoidable, produced, as was to be expected, much irritation in both countries. Various forms of reprisal, including commercial non-intercourse, were threatened by the United States, and the relations between the two peoples were fast becoming the reverse of cordial. Sensible men on both sides of the line realized that this sort of thing could not be suffered to go on. In the summer of 1887, the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, with the concurrence of Canada, agreed to the appointment of an International Joint Commission to "consider and adjust all or any questions relating to rights of fishery in the seas adjacent to British North America and Newfoundland which are in dispute between the Governments of Her Britannic Majesty and that of the United States of America, and any other questions which may arise, and which they may be authorized by their respective Governments to consider and adjust". The British plenipotentiaries were Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Lionel Sackville West, British Minister to the United States, and Sir Charles Tupper; the United States being represented by the Hon. T. F. Bayard, Secretary of State, Mr. W. L. Putnam of Maine, and Mr. James B. Angell, President of the University of Michigan. Sir John Macdonald was offered by Her Majesty's Government the position of plenipotentiary, but various considerations, including those of health, prevented his acceptance of the invitation, and at his suggestion Sir Charles Tupper's name was substituted for his own. The Hon. J. S. D. Thompson, Minister of Justice, and the Hon. George E. Foster, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, though not plenipotentiaries, were present in Washington during the negotiations, and proved of the greatest possible assistance to the British commissioners.

The first formal meeting of the Commission took place at Washington on the 22nd November, 1887, but before that

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Majesty's Dominions in America, not included within the above-mentioned limits: provided, however, that the American Fishermen shall be admitted to enter such Bays or Harbours, for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever." *Extract from Article I, Treaty of 1818.*

date Sir Charles Tupper had several opportunities to discuss privately with his principal colleague the questions upon which they were shortly to confer.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

9, *Victoria Chambers,*
London, S. W.,
September 15th, 1887.

My dear Sir John,

I spent last Saturday and Sunday, by invitation, with Mr. Chamberlain at his place near Birmingham. I like him very much, and think we have been fortunate in his selection. We discussed all the questions fully between the U. S. and Canada. I think I succeeded in impressing him with the vital importance of the U. S. understanding clearly that England was at one with us in supporting our rights. I told him that reciprocal trade was not of so much importance to us as formerly, as it was now evident that the U. S. could not compete with us without entering upon our fishing grounds, and our coal interest preferred the existing state of things to reciprocity, but that we were very anxious to relieve Her Majesty's Government from the embarrassment of these controversies. I think he takes a broad view of the whole question and that you will find him prepared to sustain our position. He is quite of the opinion that the Pacific question should be embraced, and that it strengthens our position on the Atlantic fisheries.

Yours faithfully,
Charles Tupper.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Earnscliffe, Ottawa.
Private. *December 7th, 1887.*

My dear Tupper,

I need not say that we have read the protocols of your several conferences with the greatest interest, and we join in congratulations to the British plenipotentiaries for the able manner in which they have conducted the discussions.

Bayard must feel humiliated at being compelled to take such a disingenuous course as he has done. I have little doubt that both he and the President were sincere at first in their desire to extend trade relations with Canada, but that they feel that Congress is not with them, and they wish now to avoid a second snub from the Senate.

It would seem that Bayard's sole aim now is so to conduct the negotiations that the papers when produced will show

that he insisted on all the American pretensions, and on the construction of the convention of 1818, in their extremest form—and thus to affect the next Presidential election. I should like to get your opinion on this.

The manner in which Bayard attempts to set aside his letter to you is most disingenuous. His letter should be read, not only according to its plain meaning, but also by the light thrown on it by the previous negotiations for a Commission. England had every right to suppose that the scope of the present reference was not to be more restricted than the previous abortive one. I received last night your explanatory telegram. The first was involved in style, so that there was a difference of opinion among our colleagues as to its exact meaning. Council will consider the matter to-day.

I take it that your proposition as already made will be rejected, and that you expect that the suggested one will share the same fate and is made only for the purpose of throwing the onus of failure in coming to an arrangement on the American plenipotentiaries. I shall wire you at once the result of our talk in Council.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir David Macpherson to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Chestnut Park,*
Toronto, 14th December, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Chamberlain, I presume, will come to Toronto. If he does would it not be well, if possible, to prevent his staying with Goldwin Smith who will surround him with Commercial Unionists and disloyalists of every shape, Goldwin himself pouring the poison into his ear all the time.

I don't know Chamberlain personally, but I shall be very glad to invite him to stay with us, and will take as good care of him as we can, asking loyal gentlemen to meet him. If you think it desirable, I shall ask him, and if he goes to Ottawa first, which I presume he will do, you may be able through the G. G. to direct his further movements. He may have engaged himself to Goldwin, but even if he has, he might come here first, and perhaps run to Chicago which might occupy all his time. When you write, tell me where to address him, if you would like me to ask him. If he is going soon to Ottawa, I should like to address him there.

I suppose the fisheries negotiations are virtually closed.

Sincerely yours,
D. L. MACPHERSON.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Earnscliffe,
Private. *Ottawa, January 31st, 1888.*

My dear Tupper,

Dr. Geo. Dawson [1] leaves to-day for Washington to talk over Alaska matters, I suppose, with Mr. Dall.

I am glad to see that Mr. C. holds that boundary must be the subject of a separate treaty. There will be trouble enough in carrying a Fishery treaty, without overloading it with a wrangle about Alaska. I think that the British Columbian Government must be invited to be present by delegate during any negotiations on the boundary. That Province is principally and vitally interested in the question and will have the right to consider itself injured by an act of power, should the decision be adverse to its pretensions without its case being presented—by an agent specially charged to act on its behalf. There must be a good deal of discussion as to where the true line is before the question of the expediency of establishing a conventional line is taken up. I am bound to say—*pace* Genl. Cameron—that geographically speaking there is a good deal to be said for the B.C. contention. However we can talk of that by-and-by.

Sincerely yours,
John A. Macdonald.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 6th February, 1888.

My dear Sir Charles,

I have received yours of the 2nd in re Alaska boundary and have wired the Premier of B.C. suggesting that his Govt. should at once despatch an agent to represent its views at Washington. I have also telegraphed you that we must not allow hereafter any alteration of any of our boundaries or any

[1] George M. Dawson, C.M.G., LL.D., a Canadian geologist of much repute. Employed on various public services in connection with the Behring Sea and Alaska Boundary controversies with the United States Government. Dr. Dall was Dr. Dawson's American colleague in regard to the Alaska dispute.

territorial concession without the consent of the Canadian Parlt. We have suffered too much already and cannot allow another "arbitration capitulation".

Of course a reference as to the *true* boundary between B.C. and Alaska in case of disagreement can properly be dealt with by the Imperial Govt. but even in that case Canada should have a voice as to the selection of the referee.

I don't feel myself competent to decide as to the construction of the Boundary Treaty as settled between England and Russia—read by the light of the diplomatic correspondence so carefully collected by Genl. Cameron. But looking only at the language of the Treaty itself and the maps, it seems to me that were it not for the words "called the Portland Channel", B. C. makes out a strong case.

Great care must be taken by you at Washington not to create a feeling in B. C. that you have sacrificed them for the sake of making things pleasant with the U. States.

I have several times begun letters (in answer to your letters and tels) conveying the substance of our discussions in council, but the shifting of the terms proposed, almost daily sent to us, made me give them up unfinished. This, I have no doubt, you will consider a relief from an infliction.

I hope that you three [1] will be able to return soon to prepare for Parlt. We are quite at a stand still about legislation. I don't know what to put into "The Speech" from the Throne.

The two messages I sent you as to the G.G.'s opinions were for you as a member of the cabinet and not as an Imperial PP. and I hope were not mentioned to Chamberlain.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The attitude of the British Commissioners at the Washington Conference was that the members of the conference should not confine their deliberations to the interpretation of the Treaty of 1818 as it affected the North Atlantic fisheries, but should include therein a complete review of the commercial relations between the two countries. The

[1] His three colleagues, Messrs. Tupper, Thompson, and Foster, then together in Washington.

United States plenipotentiaries, on the other hand, took the ground that the scope of the negotiations should be limited to the terms of the reference, and their views prevailed, for with the exception of a little futile discussion over the Alaska boundary question, about which, at that time, very little was known, the Atlantic fisheries held the floor throughout.

On the 15th February, 1888, a 'satisfactory' Treaty[1] was signed by the assembled plenipotentiaries, but subsequently rejected by the Senate of the United States. In view of such a contingency, a temporary arrangement, in order to afford a *modus vivendi*, was agreed to for a period not exceeding two years, under which, by a system of annual licenses, United States fishing vessels could obtain the privilege of purchasing bait, transhipping catch, and shipping crews in Canadian ports. Notwithstanding its time limitation, this arrangement has been continued from year to year by Canadian legislation, and is still [1920] in force.

From the Auditor-General[2] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Ottawa, May 7th, 1888.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

Please accept my warmest thanks for the generous and delicate manner in which you and the other members of the Government have added to my salary and reputation.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN L. McDOUGALL.

Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald,
G. C. B.
Premier.

The bestowal of royal honours in Canada was, as a student of his correspondence cannot fail to have observed, a subject to which Sir John Macdonald at all times attached a good deal of importance. In his view "the monarchical idea should be fostered in the colonies, accompanied by some

[1] "The treaty meets my approval, because I believe that it supplies a satisfactory, practical, and final adjustment, upon a basis honourable and just to both parties, of the difficult and vexed question to which it relates." *Extract from President Cleveland's message transmitting treaty to Senate, dated 20th February, 1888.*

[2] John Lorn McDougall, C.M.G., formerly Liberal M.P. for South Renfrew. Appointed by Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, Auditor-General of Canada in 1878, which position he occupied until 1905. Died, January, 1909.

gradation of classes,"[1] and no better way of effecting this desirable result, in his judgment, existed than by a judicious distribution to fit persons, of Imperial distinctions. In pursuance of this policy, he suggested to the Governor-General in the early part of 1888, the name of President Daniel Wilson of Toronto University for a mark of royal favour, in the form of a Knight Bachelorship. President Wilson saw fit to decline this honour when it arrived, not, as he is careful to explain in the following letter, from any want of sympathy with the principle of associating Canadians in the bestowal of Imperial distinctions, but because the proposed honour was not a K.C.M.G! On the announcement of his declinature of the honour becoming known, the radical press acclaimed him as a "sturdy democrat" who cared not for trumpery "tin pot titles," but was content to remain a plain citizen of Canada. This hugely amused Sir John Macdonald, who, however, never divulged the truth. Eventually, the "sturdy democrat", finding that he could not persuade the authorities to give him a riband and star, accepted the minor dignity, and was known as Sir Daniel Wilson till the day of his death.

From President Daniel Wilson, of Toronto University, to Sir John Macdonald.

Toronto,
June 2nd, 1888.

My dear Sir John,

I have just received your telegram, and return you my hearty thanks for your kind congratulations on the honour offered to me. I am fully sensible of my obligations to you personally for having submitted my name to Her Majesty; and shall always retain a grateful sense of your services.

I trust that you will not think that I put any slight upon them, in asking permission to decline the rank of Knight Bachelor. I assume that I have been selected for this mark of Royal favour rather from my official position, as in some sense the representative of Letters and Science here, than from any personal claims. I feel, therefore, that if Letters and Science are to be distinguished by a mark of Royal favour, it ought not to be less than that which is conferred on men who have attained to eminence in political life. I am an old antiquary, very familiar with the relative value of the various orders of Knighthood; and could scarcely feel myself to have received a distinction in the acceptance of a title that must stamp me with inferiority in the presence of any K.C.M.G. of the Dominion or elsewhere.

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[1] See page 450.

I mention this only to prevent misunderstanding. I regret that I did not know in time to prevent any publicity being given to the proposed honour; as I have no sympathy with the feeling that would regard such Royal favour as less suited to Canadians than to Englishmen at home.

Allow me once more to assure you of my high appreciation of the favour I owe to you personally in this matter.

Believe me
My dear Sir John,
most sincerely yours,
DANIEL WILSON.

To Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.M.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

From the Hon. J. A. Chapleau to Sir John Macdonald.

rivate. *Ottawa, 4th June, 1888.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,[1]

Among the very few things that I know, there is one which I claim to know very well, it is the popular sentiment of my native province. That sentiment is becoming every day more and more disaffected from the direction of the Federal Government, and unless something is done, will soon be completely alienated. And, in my humble estimation, when any of the two great Provinces of Confederation, Ontario or Quebec, will, as a whole, change its allegiance to a party towards another, the days of the former are counted.

I do not wish to explain here the causes of the great *malaise* which is prevalent in Quebec, I simply state a fact, which I consider an important factor in the future existence of the Conservative party.

If you ask me what is to be done to stop that adverse current of public opinion in Quebec, I must answer that the causes which have produced it may indicate the remedy to the evil.

The Riel movement has subsided, leaving, as an overflowed river, the slime and pebbles which tell of its origin and course. An unskilful Governor and an overworked Minister allowed it to begin; the imprudence or timidity of the Quebec Ministers allowed it to spread and overrun the Province and endanger the life of the Government. But the inner motive of the outbreak and of the subsequent agitation was the deep feeling which still exists in the minds of the minority, that the political direction of the Northwest affairs is entirely foreign to their aspirations and rights. Right or wrong, the feeling was and is there still. The cry of the half-breeds; "give us our rights" answered that feeling more than their claims to land or indemnity.

It is admitted that three or four portfolios resume the political progress

[1] The occurrence of several cabinet vacancies about this time afforded an opportunity to Mr. Chapleau to press for a more important portfolio (that is to say, a portfolio administering more patronage), than that of Secretary of State, which he filled in the ministry of Sir John Macdonald.

of the country. The financial and fiscal departments, the Department of Agriculture, Emigration and Statistics, the Department of the Interior, and in a smaller measure, Marine & Fisheries, are the four traction engines carrying the country to its future destinies. The Militia, Post Office, Inland Revenue, Justice, Secretaryship, and even Public Works (when Canals and Railways are excluded) are merely local administrative parts, without any leading power in the direction of the country's future.

I assure you that the people of the Province of Quebec are keenly feeling that its representatives in the Council are excluded from the former and politically more important offices.

I do not complain personally; if I did, I would not feel at liberty to remain a day longer in the Cabinet. But if I do not want to be the judge of my fitness for any particular office in the government of the country, I feel it my duty to inform you of the popular sentiment which exists in an important portion of Confederation.

It was my misfortune not to be able to tell you what was going on in the Province of Quebec during the summer of 1885. If I had been able to do it, I am satisfied the unfortunate agitation would have been prevented. I can tell you to-day the great mischief which is now brewing in the same region, and in conscience I must warn you, leaving to your wisdom, your sense of justice and your deep sympathy for a population which has always been loyal to your command, to find the means of alleviating and gradually eradicating the painful and dangerous sentiment which prevails.

I trust you will take my communication in the same spirit which is actuating me in making it, I mean the peace and welfare of the Government in the interest of a contented people.

and I remain,
My dear Sir John,
Your devoted servant & friend.
J. A. Chapleau.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. J. A. Chapleau.

Earnscliffe, Ottawa,
June 6, 1888.

Private.

My dear Chapleau,

I have your note of the 5th. The position of a premier is sometimes a perplexing one—especially when called upon to balance interests and pretensions.

I am now receiving from my Ontario supporters daily, letters complaining that their Province has only two Departments, and those of secondary importance, viz: Customs and Agriculture; while Quebec has four, viz; Public Works, Militia, Railways and now the Department of the Secretary of State (with the new Printing Bureau). This reminds me

that Ontario returns a majority of 22 and Quebec of 9 for our support.

They also grumble at the Maritime Provinces getting so many offices.

Again, Manitoba, Northwest Territories and British Columbia say that out of 15 they return 14 supporters, and they request, I may say, demand, representation in the ministry.

The time has come, I think, when we must choose men for their qualifications rather than for their locality.

As to the Department of the Interior (with the Indian Department) a knowledge of the country, and of its people and especially of the Indians is imperatively demanded—and that demand must be gratified.

There is no especial reason why a French Canadian should be preferred for office in the West. The people of Quebec will not migrate in that direction. They, wisely, I think, desire to settle the lands yet unoccupied in their Province and to add to their influence in Eastern Ontario. The consequence is that Manitoba and the N.W.T. are becoming what British Columbia now is, wholly English—with English laws. English, or rather British, immigration, and, I may add, English prejudices.

The Northwest will have a French Governor, and a French Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The halfbreeds, whether French or English, are a diminishing quantity, and need not be taken into consideration as a potential force—and as to their rights, they have been more than recognized.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to C. N. Skinner, Esq., M.P.

Dalhousie, N. B.
July 13, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your interesting letter of the 1st instant reached Ottawa as I was preparing for my flight here. I could not answer from the Capital, for I was laid up with a diseased jaw. However, your letter didn't demand an immediate answer.

I shall be much pleased to obtain the support of Mr. Blair.[1] A man of his marked ability would be a gain to any party.

I quite understand the delicacy of his position, and that his influence might be weakened by an abrupt change of base. On the other hand it won't do to postpone that operation until the eleventh hour. The electors of New Brunswick must have time to consider the grounds of the change and to understand them. I think it unfortunate that he pressed the Quebec resolutions[2] through the Legislature, and don't quite see that he was under any obligation to do so. If he becomes a member of the Dominion Parliament and supports the Government, he may be obliged to vote against the resolutions, or shirk the vote, or vote against the majority, any of which courses will put him in a false position, and *may* impair his influence in his new sphere of action. However, the thing has been done and cannot be undone.

The present Parliament will probably last till 1892, and Mr. Blair will therefore have plenty of time to educate his party up to his new standpoint. I don't remember the circumstances connected with the $150,000 claim, and would like to know more about it. I have no recollection of any promise having been made him by our Government.

He need not trouble himself about "Unrestricted reciprocity". Before 1892 it will be as dead as Julius Cæsar.

I shall probably be here all this month. If you could run up here for a day or two, we might discuss the whole position. Telegraph before coming, as I may go to Sir Geo. Stephen's place at Grand Metis for a few days.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

C. N. Skinner, Esq., M.P.[3]

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[1] The Hon. Andrew George Blair, Premier of New Brunswick (1884–1896); sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Railways and Canals in the administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 20th July, 1896; resigned, 21st July, 1903; appointed Chairman of the Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada, 18th January, 1904. Died, 25th January, 1907.

[2] This refers to the resolutions passed at the Conference of Provincial Premiers, which, at the instigation of Mr. Mercier, met at Quebec in 1887.

[3] In 1887 one of the members of the House of Commons for the city and county of St. John, New Brunswick.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston

Dalhousie, July 17/88.

DEAR LORD STANLEY,[1]

By the death of Mr. White[2] in April last and by the recent appointment of Mr. McLelan[3] to the Lt. Governorship of Nova Scotia, the offices of Minister of the Interior and of Postmaster General have become vacant.

I now beg leave to submit to Your Excellency the name of the Hon. Edgar Dewdney for the former office. He has just ceased to be Lt. Governor of the North West Territories, which position he held in conjunction with the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the North West. He has had much experience in the administration of Indian matters, which are always troublesome, and require skilful management.

He is an old Parliamentarian, having represented a British Columbia constituency in two Parliaments. Altogether, I consider him by far the fittest man for the place. He will probably be elected by acclamation for East Assiniboia, a constituency in the North West.

I beg also to submit the name of Mr. John Haggart for the position of Postmaster General. He is a man of ability and has represented continuously the South Riding of the County of Lanark since 1872. This constituency is in the Province of Ontario, and is in the next county to Carleton—the metropolitan county of Canada.

If Your Excellency is pleased to sanction these appointments, I shall be much obliged by your noting your approval, on the enclosed papers, and causing them to be sent to me here, so that the Commissions may be prepared and the writs of election issued.

Believe me,
dear Lord Stanley,
faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

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[1] The Right Hon. Frederick Arthur, Baron Stanley of Preston, G.C.B., Governor-General of Canada (1888–1893); became (16th) Earl of Derby during his period of office.

[2] The Hon. Thomas White, M.P., Minister of the Interior, who died 21st April, 1888.

[3] The Hon. A. W. McLelan, Postmaster General, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 10th July, 1888. Died, 26th June, 1890.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper

Private. *Dalhousie,*
20th July/88.

My dear Tupper,

You will have seen the outrageous Act passed by the Quebec Legislature[1] authorizing the Government to force the holders of Quebec five per cent bonds to accept the principal or agree to a reduction of four per cent. This amounts simply to confiscation, and if carried into effect, will ruin the credit of Quebec, greatly prejudice the credit of the other Provinces and perhaps injure the credit of the Dominion. I am corresponding now with Thompson, who is at Halifax, as to disallowance of this legislation, but it has occurred to me that the subject being one of such importance, we ought to endeavour to interest H. M. Government in the matter. The chief bondholders of Quebec and other Provincial securities, are in London. My idea is that we should get some holders of a Quebec bond in England to enter a protest in writing to the Colonial Minister. Lord Knutsford (unless urged to take a different course) might probably reply that it is a matter to be dealt with by the Governor-General, but it affects English investors especially. There are no holders of those bonds in Canada, and therefore no one specially interested in fighting Mercier.

A despatch might be sent to the Governor-General stating that a protest had been made, that Her Majesty's Government considered it an act of repudiation, and calling the serious attention of the Dominion Government to the subject. I have written to Thompson asking what he thinks of this scheme of mine. Meanwhile, I think you can easily find a holder of Quebec bonds in London to make the protest. I have no means of reference to despatches here, but I think you will find at the Colonial Office a despatch to Canada[2] (I think by Lord Kimberley) asserting the right of the Im-

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[1] 51-52 Vic. cap. 9. This objectionable provision was repealed in the following session by the Act 52 Vic. cap. 2. See letter from Lieutenant-Governor Angers *infra* pp. 420-1.

[2] Earl Granville to Governor-General, dated the 8th May, 1869. See *Hodgin's Dominion and Provincial Legislation, (1867-1895)* pp. 63–64.

perial Government to disallow Provincial Acts directly since Confederation, as well as indirectly through the Dominion Government. The importance of getting the Colonial Office to move in the matter is this, that if the Federal Government disallows the Act, there will be a howl in Quebec and a special appeal to the *habitans* against a government which compelled them to pay 5% when they can get plenty of money at 4. I shall write you again as soon as I hear from Thompson.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Charles Tupper, K.C.M.G.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Stephen, Bart.

Private and Confidential. *At Dalhousie,*
August 4, 1888.

MY DEAR STEPHEN,

I shall be quite ready to talk Arbitration matters over with Clark[1] if he comes down, although I suppose matters must be allowed to take their course.

It is quite evident that a great deal of feeling has got mixed up in this matter. The C.P.R. people think that Schreiber has been carried away by his desire to support his personal reputation. The other side think that Van Horne's desire for victory has rendered him blind to every other consideration, and that his own evidence and that of the American railway people he has brought in, will greatly injure the reputation of the railway. There is perhaps some truth in both surmises. * * *

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[1] George M. Clark, chief solicitor of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The arbitration here referred to was between the Government of Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in respect of that portion of the railway in British Columbia lying between Kamloops and Port Moody, a distance of about 238 miles, which had been built by the Government. When the C.P.R. took this part of the road over, they alleged the work was not done according to contract, and claimed several millions. Under an agreement of reference, dated 2nd January, 1888, between the Government and the Company, C. C. Gregory, Esq. C. E.; Thomas C. Keefer, Esq., C.M.G., C.E.; and the Hon. J. A. Boyd, Chancellor of Ontario, were appointed arbitrators. On the 6th July, 1891, they rendered their decision, awarding to the Company the sum of $579,255.20, C. C. Gregory, Government Arbitrator, dissenting. This is the much-discussed arbitration in the correspondence of 1887–1891 between Macdonald, Stephen, Pope, and Van Horne

Meanwhile don't be disgusted at the ingratitude of the Manitobans. I have been long enough in public life to know how little of that commodity there exists in this world. So long as you remain at the helm, I have no fears for the C.P.R., but after that——

Yours always,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From the Hon. J. H. Pope to Sir John Macdonald.

Ottawa, August 6th, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st, in which you give me Stephen's opinion of Schreiber and myself, and I should judge that he is taking a little bit of a hold of you. You say you think it will be dangerous to examine the road and have a report upon it; and Stephen says that it is perfectly ridiculous—that we should not do it. Now, my belief is that I have nothing else left for me to do. The Act says, that whenever I learn that a road is out of order, it is my duty to send on one or two engineers to examine it; and I do not intend to give them the loophole to say that I never examined the road after giving this information under oath. You seem to think that our engineers may condemn it, or report that it is dangerous. The whole of their evidence, however, will go to show that it is a very good road, better, in fact, than the part that the other fellows built,[1] and that it is a safe road, with careful running; and the report will undoubtedly be in the same direction, and will exonerate me if any accident should occur on the road. There is trouble nestling in their camp since they found it is to be examined. Stephen calls upon me for fair play, or says that I agreed to give him fair play, and asks me to stop it. I do intend to give him fair play, but it is too late now to stop the examination of the road, nor do I want to do so.

I shall see Stephen to-night on my way home from here, but I am not going to allow him to talk much to me about the British Columbia section. He has got too much under the control of Van Horne, and is too reckless in what he writes, for me to spend ten minutes in talking to him.

I do not know when I shall be down your way, but so soon as I can hear from Tupper about the Ordnance property in Halifax I shall go down to try to close up the business.

I hear grand accounts of your health and I am delighted to hear them.

It has been a little hard upon me coming up here, but I am going down again to try to make it up.

Believe me,
Very faithfully yours,
J. H. POPE.

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[1] This refers to the portion of the road built by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company themselves.

From the Hon. J. S. D. Thompson to Sir John Macdonald.

Halifax,
August 7th, 1888.

My dear Sir John,

I have all the Provincial statutes of the present year except those of Quebec, and will be prepared to report on them at once. I would have been ready to go to the west to-day, but the Colchester friends asked that I should remain a few days longer so as to be at their call. There is really no need for any help there, but as they are not sure yet what kind of campaigning is to be done, I do not like to leave them.

On 8 May 1869 (page 8 of Provincial legislation) there was a despatch which indirectly asserted the right of the Imperial Gov't. to review the legislation of the Provinces. This perhaps is the one you have in mind, altho' it is not quite so direct as your statement of it would indicate. No doubt it would be a great advantage to get an expression from England against the Quebec repudiation Act.

I am glad to hear that you are enjoying fair weather. I have had a very satisfactory cruise over my county, and have also found many things here needing attention.

I remain,
dear Sir John,
Yours sincerely,
Jno. S. D. Thompson.

From Lieutenant-Governor Angers[1] *to Sir John Macdonald.*

Confidential. *Quebec, 13th September, 1888.*

Dear Sir John,

On the 12th instant, I received from the Hon. the Secretary of State, copy of a protest against the Bill authorizing the conversion of the Quebec provincial loans, signed by some of the leading London bankers and others, sent to Lord Knutsford and by him referred to His Excellency the Governor-General.

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[1] Afterwards the Hon. Sir Auguste Réal Angers, Kt. Mr. Angers entered the Quebec Legislature in 1874; became first Solicitor, and afterward Attorney General under Mr. de Boucherville, whose dismissal by Lieutenant-Governor Letellier in March, 1878, Mr. Angers shared; elected to Montmorency for the House of Commons in 1880; he was in the same year elevated to the Bench of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec; in 1887 he became Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and four years later dismissed from his Councils the ministry led by Mr. Honoré Mercier on the ground of certain corrupt transactions in connection with the Baie des Chaleurs Railway; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Agriculture, 7th December, 1892; called to the Senate, 16th December, 1892; in 1895 he resigned from the Cabinet of Sir Mackenzie Bowell; became President of the Privy Council in Sir Charles Tupper's ministry, May, 1896, resigning with his leader on the 8th July following. Died, 14th April, 1919.

I think it right to confidentially inform you of the position I took at the origin in the matter. When the speech of the opening of the Session which referred to the scheme of conversion of the provincial debt, was submitted to me, I foresaw the evil consequences of such a step on the credit of the Province and Canadian securities in general. I accordingly warned Mr. Mercier. I fully put before him my conjectures which have now turned out into realities. He persisted in his opinion. Again, in the course of the Session, when the resolutions upon which the bill is based, were brought for my authority to submit them to the Assembly, I renewed my warning to the Provincial Treasurer.

Being new in office, and belonging in the past to a party who had always opposed the one led by Mr. Mercier, I thought it was not judicious for me to insist any further by refusing my consent. To a certain extent I was in hopes that the majority of the House would modify the measure so as to leave it optional with the bondholders to exchange their bonds for new ones. This latter enactment would undoubtedly have been adopted by the Legislative Council, had the Government not given in writing a declaration to the effect that the conversion would only be optional. Notwithstanding the irregularity of this mode, this declaration secured for the Government a majority of two votes recruited in the Conservative party (Champagne and Starnes). In the presence of this majority, and after the declaration of the Government, I thought it would be injudicious for me to reserve the bill.

These short explanations will show you, I hope, that I gave the matter a mature attention by a judicious warning to Mr. Mercier, and that under the circumstances peculiar to myself, I could not do much more without exposing my office to the recriminations of the Liberal press and personally to the charge of being an obstructionist to the express will of the majority of both Houses.

Should you think it advisable, you may communicate to His Excellency the contents of this letter.

I remain, dear Sir John,
Yours truly,
A. R. Angers.

P. S. May I be allowed to refer to the wording of the first paragraph of the Order-in-Council disallowing the Act respecting District Magistrates. It reads: "Whereas the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, with the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of that Province, did, etc." Do you not think that this is referring too directly to the person of the Lieutenant-Governor, who is non-responsible in such a matter? Could the wording, in the future, be modified for instance to read thus: "Whereas the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, did, etc."

A. R. Angers.

To the Right Honourable,
Sir John A. Macdonald.
Premier, Ottawa.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

97, Cromwell Road, S. W.,
Sept. 18th, 1888.

My dear Sir John,

I suppose that Morine[1] has told you that Whiteway has determined to join the anti-confederation and that he has abandoned union. From what I can learn from him, Sir A. Shea and his brother who have been here, I do not think the N. F. Govt. really intend to do more than get an offer in order to refuse it. I presume you will take care to make no offer to them unless they are pledged to stake their existence upon carrying it.

Sir Ambrose Shea will only commit himself to the work if you can show him that it is certain to advance his interests. He does not think it would be wise for him to go to Ottawa, but would like to see you at Montreal as he goes through in about a month. He would like to have a pass over the I.C.R. sent to him at Halifax care of T. E. Kenny, M.P.

I see by the cable that the N.F. Govt. do not intend to go to Ottawa until they see what is the outcome of Cleveland's message. That message has impressed me more than ever with the great importance of having N.F. a part of the Dominion,

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
Charles Tupper.

The Right Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald,
G.C.B. &c.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Editor of the United Service Gazette

Ottawa, 18th September, 1888.

Sir,

I am in receipt of your favour of the 4th instant in which you ask an expression of my views on the subject of Imperial Federation.

This is so vague a term that until some scheme is worked out for consideration, no decided opinions for or against it can be framed. No system or plan of any kind has yet been formed, and it does not seem as if any of those who have identified themselves with the question have yet been able to do so. Any arrangement which would bring together

[1] A. B. Morine, a Nova Scotian by birth, who went to St. John's, Newfoundland, in early life, and engaged in journalism; elected to the Legislature in 1883; appointed Colonial Secretary in 1897, and subsequently filled other offices in the Government of Newfoundland.

more closely the mother country and the colonies deserves, and I have no doubt will receive, favourable consideration. I think, however, that anything like a common legislature with powers at all similar to that of the British Parliament, is altogether impracticable.

I am,
Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Editor,
United Service Gazette,
4, Coffin Street,
Strand, W. C.,
London, England.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lt. Governor Angers.

Earnscliffe,
Private. *Ottawa, September 18/88.*

MY DEAR ANGERS,

I learn that the disallowance of the Magistrates Act has not been published by the Provincial Secretary, or whoever has the management of the official Gazette. Now, as by the B.N.A. Act the disallowance of a Dominion Act is to be proclaimed by the Governor-General, so the disallowance of a Provincial Act is to be proclaimed by the Lt. Governor, in the one case as an Imperial, in the other as a federal officer. This duty cannot be obstructed or delayed by the Dominion or Provincial ministry. I have no doubt you fully understand all this, but I write you on the subject, as I am informed that Mercier has declared his determination not to issue a proclamation of disallowance.

Now, this attempt to begin a reign of anarchy must be ended, and I am sure you will be firm with that gentleman.

Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Honour
Lt. Gov. Angers.

From Lt. Governor Angers to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Quebec, 19th September, 1888.*

My dear Sir John,

Hoping you will not find me too ready to take advantage of your kind offer to confer with you upon matters of unusual importance, I have again to trouble you.

Under the combined sense of ss. 56 and 90 of B.N.A. act, 1867, in so far as they relate to disallowance of acts, I read that the disallowance of a federal act by the Queen-in-Council is signified by speech or message to both Houses of Parliament, or by Proclamation of the Governor-General. The disallowance of a provincial act by the Governor-General in Council is signified by speech or message to both Houses of the Legislature, or by Proclamation by the Lieutenant-Governor, the annulling of the act taking effect from and after the day of such signification.

The urgency of the disallowance of the District Magistrates Act seems to require a proclamation, the feasibility of the signification by speech or message being too remote, as the House is not in session and not likely to meet before several months.

Now, how is this proclamation to be issued? Is it upon the advice of the constitutional advisers of the Lieutenant-Governor? Assume that the ministry whose act has been disallowed refuse to give such advice. I have reason to believe that in the present case the advice will be refused. Is this not a proclamation that can be issued by the Lieutenant-Governor individually, as a federal officer, upon the injunction conveyed by the words "the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, and all other persons it may concern are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly," of the Order-in-Council, and upon the requirements of sections 56 and 90. It cannot occur to me in interpreting these sections, that the advice of the Executive Council be required to determine the action of the Lieutenant-Governor. Would it not be submitting the greater power who disallows, to the action or inaction of the subordinate power whose act is disallowed. If such was the case, no possible disallowance could take effect without the conjunction of the local Government, because it is only from and after the day of the signification of the same by speech or message or proclamation, that the act is annulled. I am therefore inclined to believe that after having invited my advisers to give their conjunction to put the disallowance into effect, that I can issue the same without their participation. But in this difficult instance I rely upon your opinion to be set right, if your views differ as to my individual action.

Of course a crisis has to be avoided, Mr. Mercier having presently the support of both Houses of our Legislature.

Although many acts of the several Legislatures have been disallowed, I have been able to find but one proclamation of this nature. It is one issued by Lieutenant-Governor Robinson in 1883 (Ontario Gazette, 27th January, p. 50) under the advice of Mr. Mowat who, no doubt, finding that this formality had been neglected, included therein acts disallowed in 1869, 1870, 1875, 1880, 1881 and 1882.

Mr. Mercier has gone to New York with his wife for medical advice, and will return at the end of the week. I shall lose no time putting before him the case, citing the precedent offered by Mr. Mowat. I enclose you an editorial published by *La Patrie* from *Le Moniteur du Commerce*, which will show you the likely object of the probable refusal to advise the issue of a proclamation, which is to take an action before the Law Courts testing the constitutionality of the District Magistrates Act, before the disallowance takes effect. So you see that my advisers may invoke before the ignorant public, a ground to refuse their conjunction to issue the proclamation.

Since the above is written, I have received your letter of the 18th instant. Trust that I shall act with firmness combined with prudence, so as to arrive at a favourable solution without going through a crisis.

Hoping to hear from you as soon as convenient,

I remain, dear Sir John,

Faithfully yours,

A. R. Angers.

From Sir John Macdonald to Lt. Governor Angers.

Earnscliffe, Ottawa.

Confidential *Sept. 22nd/88.*

My dear Angers:

I have yours of the 19th and have discussed the matter confidentially with the Minister of Justice from a constitutional point of view, and with Sir Hector Langevin. We have come to the following conclusions:

1st. That it is the duty of the Lt. Governor, as a Federal officer, to cause the proclamation of the disallowance to be published.

2nd. And to do so, even if his advisers should refuse to sanction, or order the publication in the official Gazette.

3rd. That if the Cabinet or the minister who ordinarily controls the management and publication of the Gazette, disobey the order of the Lt. Governor to publish the Proclamation so that it does not appear, he, the Lt. Govr. might publish the Proclamation under his seal and signature otherwise than in the Gazette—and such publication would have the effect of annulling the Act.

4th. But that such publication would be in the highest degree unadvisable and inconvenient—the Proclamation not appearing in the official Gazette would not prove itself—See the Quebec Act, 31 Victoria cap. 13.—and the original instru-

ment must be produced and proved in *every* case and in every court where its existence was challenged. This would be practically impossible and, therefore,

5th. The true course is to order the minister controlling the Gazette to publish the proclamation in it, and on refusal to appoint another in his stead. If M. Mercier upholds his colleague in this disobedience, he must bring on a crisis and the responsibility will be his.

I have no fear, however, that he will go so far, but that after a little bluster he will submit.

The above are the conclusions at which we three have arrived.

I remain,
My dear Angers,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

P. S. The Proclamation might appear in the Gazette with your signature and seal, even if not countersigned by the minister.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.

Private.

Earnscliffe,
October 2nd/88.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

I have yours of the 18th as to the elevation of Bishop Walsh to the Archbishopric of Toronto.

I have always understood that years ago when Archbishop Lynch sent in his resignation (afterwards withdrawn) Bp. Walsh was returned to Rome as *dignissimus*.

I find that the general impression among the Catholics of Ontario is that Walsh is certain to be selected.

He, like all his Irish Catholic brethren in Canada, is a Home Ruler, but he is opposed to violence of every kind—as indeed are all his brother bishops, as far as I know.

From a "Nationalist" point of view Walsh should be as acceptable to Cardinal Manning as any other Irish clergyman.

I hope for the sake of peace between Catholics and Protestants in Ontario that the choice will fall on him.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Lt.-Governor Angers to Sir John Macdonald.

Hôtel du Governement
Québec
Private. *2nd October, 1888.*

My dear Sir John,

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Order-in-Council authorizing the issue of the proclamation signifying the disallowance, has been duly passed. The proclamation will appear in an extra of the Que. Official Gazette to-day. Many thanks for your valuable advice, and believe me,

Yours truly,
A. R. Angers.

From Sir George Stephen, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Latimer, 7th October, 1888.*

My dear Sir John,

I have just received your letter of 21st. Rose had some of the qualities of a banker, but his want of nerve was against him in that as well as in other things. The bulk of his money was made *after* he retired from the firm of Morton, Rose & Co., and devoted his whole time to his own affairs, and M. R. & Co's money has all been made since he left them, and Charlie took his place. A successful banker needs two things—caution and courage; he, Rose, had the former in a high degree but was totally wanting in the latter. King had both qualities—hence his success. I often think of poor old Hincks, and regret Canada lost him at a time when he could have done it so good service. I hope you will let nothing prevent your coming over this fall. I am sure your presence here will do good. I fear there is a too general idea in this country that Canada will be doing the best thing for herself if she makes terms with the Yankees. The Imperial idea is not nearly so strongly felt here as it is in Canada. I am hoping to get a cable from you this week telling me when to look for you at Latimer. I wish there were more Canadians of Lady Macdonald's type in the appreciation of the value and importance of the North West.

I am sorry to hear the the dry rot has got into Earnscliffe, but hope you may cure it more easily than you fear.

I am very glad to hear that Pope is feeling so much better. He would be good for some years, if he could be persuaded to give up work and public life and take care of himself, but that he seems to think he cannot do. I have said all and more than I ought to have said, because I feel he is committing suicide. I heartily agree with you in wishing that miserable arbitration at an end, or rather that it had never been necessary. I deplore Pope's feeling against Van Horne, and have done all I could to disabuse him of his suspicions, but without effect; nothing will convince him that Van Horne has not a fixed purpose to put him into a "hole," which I know is a groundless suspicion, as Clark will tell you. I am sure

if you saw Van Horne yourself, he would at least convince *you* that nothing is farther from his mind. Nobody knows better than Van Horne the supreme importance of Pope's support and firmness in standing by the C.P.R. all through the Company's difficulties from 1882 to 1887, and I know he would be the last man to do anything wantonly to injure Pope in any way, but it seems impossible to disabuse Pope of his suspicion.

I fear the damage to the wheat crop in the Nor' West will at least prevent any great rush of immigrants to that country during the next season. The talk about the damage does more harm than the thing itself. Scarth[1] has again got himself and his Company into trouble by the foolish way he disposed of the crofters sent out last season, and what the result will be to Scarth remains to be seen, but it looks ominous for him just now. He seems to be utterly wanting in sense. That crofter business will have to be carried on by the two Governments without the intervention of Scarth or any other outside organization. Scarth reported to his Company that out of some 160 sections of land set apart by the Department of the Interior for the crofters, there were only 5 sections fit for settlement, which I cannot but think absurd. If that be true, there is no use talking any more about settling the Nor' West. Greenway is fast ruining Manitoba, and every interest connected with it, by his reckless increase of taxation from useless railway enterprises, making me deeply regret that I ever had anything to do with the country. I see only one end to it all—bankruptcy and repudiation.

Cable me as soon as you fix your date of sailing.

Always yours,
GEO. STEPHEN.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

Private.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 8th October, 1888.

MY DEAR SCHULTZ,

I am in receipt of your cypher and your note of the 3rd. I did not answer your cypher, as there was no other course open to you than to issue the proclamation when advised by your Ministers to do so, and it is well that I should obtrude my advice as little as possible. I shall not fail to do so however, whenever I think it necessary or expedient for the general good. I have been quietly corresponding with Lt. Governor Angers lately on Mercier's boast that he would not issue a

[1] W. B. Scarth, M.P., for Winnipeg (1887–1891), and for some years from 1884 representative in Manitoba of the Canada North West Land Company, in which Donald Smith and George Stephen had a controlling voice; appointed Deputy Minister of Agriculture at Ottawa 1st December, 1895. Died, 15th May, 1902.

proclamation announcing the disallowance of his District Magistrates Bill. Notwithstanding all his bluster, Angers compelled him, not only to publish the proclamation, but to pass an order in council advising the publication. I mention this as a case in which judicious firmness overcame factious disregard of constitutional law.

I have no doubt you will force Greenway to prorogue rather than to adjourn from time to time. He may talk of dissolving, but a hint that you won't grant a dissolution, but will send for some one else to form another ministry, will bring him to his senses.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir Alexander Galt to Sir John Macdonald.

Confidential. *Montreal, 12th October, 1888.*

MY DEAR MACDONALD,

It has been told me that my name has been mentioned in connection with the senatorship held by our old friend Ferrier.[1]

I have been thinking it over, and on the whole I think I would like it. It would be a little change to bully the Government in the afternoon, and play whist at the Club in the evening. However, I leave the matter wholly with yourself, and will not be vexed if you tell me you have to make other arrangements.

I rather think I shall have to go to England next week.

Yours sincerely,
A. T. GALT.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Stephen, Bart.

Earnscliffe, Ottawa,
Oct. 22/88.

Private.

MY DEAR STEPHEN,

I have yours of the 7th. I had almost made up my mind to take a run to England, when the President's message came out. It was impossible to foresee what would be the action of the President or the Senate, and I thought it necessary to

[1] The Hon. James Ferrier represented the district of Shawinigan, P. Q., in the Senate. Died, 30th May, 1888.

be on the spot, so that Canada might be ready to take any step that might be forced on us by such action. Congress adjourned on Saturday without doing anything, but there are rumours that the President, just before the election, will come out with a startling proclamation of some kind.

I don't believe this, but there is no saying what the Yankees may do in stress of politics.

Then the row between the C.P.R. and the Manitoba Government about the railway crossing was begun, and 3 J.P's. have called for the assistance of the military to keep the peace.

It won't do for me to be absent while this quarrel is up—as this is a matter for which I will be looked on, to indicate and carry out the Government policy. We intend to have a short session and if all goes well, I might run home in April next, but that is a long way off.

John Henry [Pope] is working away and gets angry if anyone warns him as to his health. He won't listen to anyone but me on this side of the Atlantic, and he hearkens to me in a very sulky manner.

Van Horne came up here the other day to have a talk of things in general, and Atlantic steamers in particular.

We got on very well together, and the arbitration once over, I look forward to satisfactory relations.

I was greatly grieved to get your letter and cable about Scarth. He is such a good fellow and so perfectly honest and reliable, that I have a great regard for him. I wired you to-day to save him—as a matter of policy he should be kept as a friend of the C.P.R. just now. Greenway and his Attorney-General, Martin[1] are behaving outrageously. * * * I am writing heaps of letters to the N. W. and sometimes think of going up myself. If I were ten years younger, I should be there now.

Mercier is killing himself in the east, as Greenway is doing in the west. I hope, ere long, to get rid of both those scamps.

The crop in Manitoba and the N.W. is very good on the

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[1] Joseph Martin, at that time Attorney-General in Greenway's Government; represented Winnipeg in the House of Commons (1893–1896); removed to British Columbia (1897); entered the Provincial Government there, becoming Premier (March 1900); he afterwards sat for East St. Pancras in the Imperial House of Commons.

whole and as prices are good, the whole country is happy except at Prince Albert and along the N. Saskatchewan where the crop can't be brought out.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From the Hon. Oliver Mowat to Sir John Macdonald.

Toronto, 17th November, 1888.

DEAR SIR,

I am authorised by the five Provincial Governments—parties to the resolutions passed at Quebec in October of last year,[1] to say that they would like to have a friendly conference with you respecting the resolutions, and would esteem it a favour if you would name a day for the purpose. All five Governments would probably be represented at the interview.

I have the honour to be,
dear Sir,
Your obedient servant,
O. MOWAT.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald—G.C.B.
&c., &c,
Ottawa.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Sir John Macdonald.

97, Cromwell Road, S. W.,
December 1st, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 16th a few days ago. I quite agree with you that as the Republican party have elected the President, it is much better for them to have a majority in both Houses, and after Cleveland's two last moves it is quite obvious his usefulness is gone. His last message and treatment of Lord Sackville were altogether unworthy of his previous reputation. In the light of these events, I cannot see how he came to make the Treaty.

If I were H. M. Government I would offer you a peerage and the position of Minister at Washington as my answer to Sherman's insulting proposal to buy Canada. I realize fully the great advantage of having an able English statesman with influence here occupying that position, but as the duties devolving upon the British Minister at Washington are almost altogether in connection with Canada, and the United States complain so bitterly of the circumlocution and time lost in sending to England

[1] This refers to the conference of Provincial Premiers held at Quebec in October, 1887, instigated by Messrs. Mowat and Mercier, with the scarcely veiled object of embarrassing the Dominion Government.

—back to Canada—back to England, and then back to Washington and so on *ad infinitum*, I would meet their objection by sending a Canadian statesman to Washington. It would not only give to the world the best evidence of the determination of England to make common cause with Canada, but also show us in the most striking manner the fixed determination to make our interests the paramount consideration.

I confess that my experience in Washington—the crass ignorance of everything Canadian among the leading public men, makes me attach the greatest importance to our having an able man in a position to dispel that ignorance. Next to having an influential representative here, the interests of Canada demand one at Washington. Of course I know all this is purely speculative, as I am well aware that you could not be spared from your present post, but 'them's my sentiments.' I know you will believe me when I say that I think you are the only Canadian who could be sent there, and that I greatly prefer my present position to any other, but even at the risk of being misunderstood, I like you to know my opinions on these questions as they arise. I cannot conceal from myself that the question of annexation to the United States threatens to become an issue at no distant day, and I should not be greatly surprised to see the Opposition making common cause with the United States who are practically a unit on that question.

I need not say how heartily I concur in your views as to the senseless folly of *giving* up a single point in the Fisheries controversy—when our position has been so signally strengthened by the U. S. Administration adopting the treaty of 1888.

I am very glad to hear your opinion of General Cameron[1] and also that Caron[2] agrees with you. Sir Ralph Thompson and all the authorities here who know him, said he was just the man for that position. Caron and I will both give you credit for remarkable perspicuity in the selection of men.

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES TUPPER.

The Right Hon.
Sir J. A. Macdonald, G.C.B.

P. S. How long would the public men in the United States labour under the delusion that the French Canadians wish to join them, if one of your French colleagues resided in Washington?

C. T.

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[1] Major General D. R. Cameron, C.M.G. The position referred to was that of Commandant of the Royal Military College at Kingston, Ontario.

[2] Sir Adolphe Caron, K.C.M.G., a friend and colleague of Sir John Macdonald, represented the county of Quebec in the House of Commons from 1873 to 1887; subsequently sat for Rimouski and Three Rivers; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Militia and Defence 8th November, 1880. Died, 20th April, 1908.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. O. Mowat.

Ottawa, 3rd December, 1888.

DEAR SIR,

Absence at Kingston prevented me from bringing your note of the 17th ultimo before Council for discussion until Friday afternoon.

You invite me to have a friendly talk with the representatives of the Government parties to the resolutions passed at Quebec in October of last year. My colleagues and I think that perhaps it would be better that you and I should first have an unofficial conversation as to the utility of the proposed conference.

I remain, dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The. Hon. O. Mowat.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 6th December, 1888.

DEAR LORD STANLEY,

The other day I got a cypher "cable" from Sir Charles Tupper stating that Lord Knutsford would be much obliged by an expression of our opinion as to the appointment of Colonial Governors, and in reply I asked if he, Sir Charles, wanted a despatch or a telegraphic message.

He answered that it was in a conversation with Lord Knutsford that he learned our opinion would be satisfactory, and that he (Sir Charles) had telegraphed me without his lordship's knowledge. This was followed by another message saying that a "cable" was wanted. So I suppose Tupper must have seen Lord Knutsford after getting my message. I thereupon "wired" Sir Charles as follows:—

"Canadian Government consider the present system of appointing the Governor-General perfectly satisfactory and would greatly regret any change. Reference to Government here for nomination or approval would

introduce a disturbing element, and might eventually lead to election of Governor, a change to be deplored."

This I sent after submission to my colleagues, and I thought it better, on account of the subject, to send it under my own signature rather than through Your Excellency.

Believe me,
dear Lord Stanley,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 24th December, 1888.

DEAR LORD STANLEY,

I mentioned to you the other day the name of Mr. Joseph Hickson of Montreal as a fit person to receive the honour of knighthood from Her Majesty. He has been entrusted for many years with the sole management on this side of the Atlantic of the great railway system controlled by "The Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada."

In his capacity as manager, he has not only largely aided the internal traffic of the Dominion, but has, by judicious connection and arrangement with the railways of the United States, greatly developed our trade with that country.

Your Excellency is aware that on the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway Her Majesty was graciously pleased to make Sir George Stephen, its President, a baronet, and its Vice President, Sir Donald Smith, a K.C.M.G.

The Grand Trunk is quite as important a railway to the people of Canada as its great rival, although the latter, when the North West Territories are fairly populated, may eventually take the lead.

It may be well to call to mind that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales did Canada the great honour of visiting it as Her Majesty's Representative in 1860 for the purpose of completing the main line of the Grand Trunk Railway by placing the cope stone on the Victoria bridge, which spans the river St. Lawrence at Montreal, and that no honour was then conferred on anyone connected with the railway.

I may add that Mr. Hickson's social status is such as to enable him worthily to maintain the title if conferred upon him. May I then ask Your Excellency to be so kind as to submit Mr. Hickson's name for this mark of Her Majesty's favour?

Believe me,
dear Lord Stanley,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Excellency
The Governor-General.

From Sir Alexander Galt to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal, 11th January, 1889.

MY DEAR MACDONALD.

I cannot let the day pass without sending you my kindest wishes on your commencing another year—and trusting you may be long spared to labour for the welfare of our common country.

I am sure you will receive many congratulations to-day, but I hope you will believe that none more sincerely desire your health and happiness than myself. I am not very far behind you in years, and I think we may both be thankful that we are still spared and fit for useful work.

Please present my kindest regards to Lady Macdonald. I hear Bernard is at the Windsor where I hope to see him this afternoon.

Yours very sincerely,
A. T. GALT.

The Right Honourable
Sir John Macdonald.

During the latter years of his life Sir John Macdonald manifested a good deal of interest in proposals looking to the establishment, in conjunction with the Canadian Pacific Railway, of fast steamship services on both oceans, and also in steamship communications with Australasia. Correspondence on this subject will be found in the Macdonald Archives (bundles 8/467; 504; 8/571; 4/573; 619; 620; 627; 628; 11/702; 12/702), between the firm of Anderson, Anderson and Company, London; Messrs. Macdonald, Stephen, Tupper, Van Horne, etc. Nothing definite, however, had been settled in regard to this matter at the date of Macdonald's death.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Stephen, Bart.

Ottawa, January 12/89.

My dear Stephen,

Pray accept my best thanks for all your good wishes on the advent of my 74th birthday, including the Northcotes. I am in good health but rather dread another session which begins on 31st. I was a good deal amused with Tyler's[1] acknowledgment that the C.P.R. was a legitimate and important undertaking, after all that has come and gone. McIntyre's letter was very timely and very well expressed. I could easily guess who inspired the paper. I should doubt much the G.T.R. shareholders venturing more money to the "Soo", but there is no limit to the credulity of English investors.

I fancy when your line is finished and connection is completed via the Soo, that even Tyler and Hickson will hesitate to make the plunge.

We are trying to carry out a contract for a fast Atlantic steamline and, strictly *entre nous*, Council is inclined to subsidize up to $350,000. That sum, with the Admiralty and Imperial Post Office grant, ought to do the work. But the C.P.R., or rather the International and Atlantic and North Western, must carry out the contract to complete the short line from Salisbury to Harvey, or I fear the Maritimes won't vote the subsidy. There is quite a furore down by the sea on this subject.

There is quite a revival of a spirit of enterprize in Canada, and Parliament will be overwhelmed with no end of applications for all kinds of charters—railways and others—but the Government will grant few or no subsidies.

Pope is as usual, now better and now worse. He has paired off for the session with Edward Blake—every day after 6 o'clock, so that there will be no night work for him, and I fancy he will resign after the session.

I have seen Van Horne several times lately. He is in good spirits and made a good speech at the Board of Trade banquet at Toronto the other day.

Yours very sincerely,

John A. Macdonald.

[1] Sir Henry Tyler, chairman, Grand Trunk Railway Company, in England.

From Sir John Macdonald to John F. Stairs, Esq. M. P.

Confidential. *Ottawa, 21st January, 1889.*

My dear Stairs,

I have yours of the 15th. I hope that we can make arrangements for a fast line of steamers to Quebec and Halifax, but it will cost a great deal more than it will benefit Canada, tho' it may especially benefit those two cities. However, we must have the line.

You speak of having a line *superior* to any of the New York steamers. It will be impossible for Canada to compete with the floating capital of England and New York. We must be satisfied with equalling them. To *beat* them, would cost a million—but you Quebeckers and Haligonians think only of your two cities.

As to the West India line, I think Canada ought to contribute to the support of the line, provided the West Indies also subsidize. But Jamaica won't give a cent unless we give it the sole control of our sugar market. We tried to meet the Jamaicans some years ago, but without success. But the idea that Canada is to keep up a line at her own sole expense to give the W. I. an especial market for their sugar and bananas, would be folly.

The fact is Canada is running in debt too fast, and will shortly lose her credit, if she listens to every demand for subsidy. We must call a halt and rest awhile. We *will* not increase our taxation. We *ought* not to increase our debt, and must therefore leave some things to private enterprise, as the larger and richer but more economical countries of Britain and the United States do.

Yours sincerely

John A. Macdonald.

John F. Stairs, Esq.

From the Hon. Oliver Mowat to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Toronto, 6 March, 1889.*

Dear Sir John,

I see from the newspapers this A.M. that Mercier has decided to refuse a boundary of 52°. I hope this will not cause any delay in a statutory settlement of the Ontario northern boundary.

May I express a hope, that more important matters will not drive out of mind the grant to the Niagara Park Commissioners.

Yours truly,
O. Mowat.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Oliver Mowat.

Private. *Earnscliffe,*
Ottawa, 6th March, 1889.

My dear Mowat,

I am sorry to say that Mr. Mercier declines our proposition as to boundary. So that the Imperial Act must be limited to Ontario.

Perhaps you can persuade him to change his decision. I may say that the Hon. D. Mills, seeing the rumoured boundary in the press, told Bowell that our proposition was greatly in excess of Quebec rights.

Yours faithfully,
John A. Macdonald

The Hon. O. Mowat.

From the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House, Barrackpore,
March 9, 1889.

Dear Sir John,

It was pleasant to see your handwriting again.

I had not forgotten the picture. The painter of whom I wrote to you, has not yet come out, and there is no one in India good enough to be entrusted with the commission. I fancy, however, that Swoboda (this is as near as I can get to it) will present himself ere long, and I will thereupon report to you. I shall bear in mind your suggestion as to the point from which the likeness should be taken. If my memory serves, poor Holl[1] had commenced his work on those lines, giving a certain amount of prominence to a feature which an irreverent Canadian journal once described as of somewhat semitic type.

I read with much interest your account of the collapse of the Commercial Union movement, and I perfectly remember your expressed anticipation that it would prove a failure. How far that failure is due to the weakness of the cause, and how far to the disorganization and incoherence of your opponents—you can judge better than I. I confess that even now I am not without misgivings as to the effects which a revival of the movement might, under altered circumstances, produce. While you are there,

[1] Francis Montague Holl, an English portrait painter, who died in 1888.

we have not much to fear from a crusade led by Laurier, Wiman or Goldwin Smith, and the aggressive conduct of the U. S. during the last two or three years, has, no doubt, done something to discourage a *rapprochement*.

We are approaching the end of our first Calcutta season, and next month will see us at Simla. The weather is very hot, and we think wistfully of the dry bracing cold of Ottawa. I get an early ride (about 6.30 A.M.) most days, and a walk or a game of lawn tennis in the evening, but all through the day we have to exclude the outer air, which is scorching, and even the nights are close and stuffy now. We have none of us had much the matter, but there is no doubt that the climate is a trying one. We have already sent the girls up to the hills.

I get plenty of work of all sorts—some most interesting, some very tiresome indeed. We are busy with our budget and shall shew a small surplus for 1889–90, in spite of the falling rupee and a diminished yield from opium. Our financial position during the next year or two will, however, be very precarious, and if exchange gets worse or a famine occurs, or Russia takes it into her head to fasten a quarrel upon us, we may find ourselves in dire straits.

We have a capital house in Calcutta, and a nice villa here with flowers and palms and orchids, which would delight Lady Macdonald, but there is complete absence of that homelike feeling which surrounded us in Canada, and made the grey walls of Rideau Hall more lovely in our eyes than our much more gorgeous palaces here.

Pray give my kindest remembrance and Lady Lansdowne's to Lady Macdonald. If you knew what pleasure it gave me to hear from you, I am sure you would write to me now and again.

Yours sincerely,

L.

A special committee of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec contemplated summoning the Lieutenant-Governor before them to give evidence on a certain matter, in the session of 1889. Mr. Angers, feeling in somewhat of a dilemma, applied for advice to Sir John Macdonald, and this is the reply. The contingency, after all, did not arise.

From Sir John Macdonald to Lieutenant-Governor Angers.

Private. *Earnscliffe,*
Ottawa, 19th March, 1889.

My dear Angers:

I felt pretty confident that you should not go before a committee of the House, and telegraphed you accordingly. I have since talked the matter over in Council with Sir John Thompson and Mr. Abbot, and we concur in thinking that the proper course is as follows:

If a special committee wants any information from the Lieutenant-Governor, they should report to the House what information they seek. The House should then pass an address to you, transmitting the report, and requesting that you would be pleased to give them the required information; and this should be done by message. There are no precedents on the subject that I know of, but taking into consideration the position of the Lieutenant-Governor and his official dignity, it seems to us that this is the proper course.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Honour
Lieutenant-Governor Angers,
Spencerwood,
Quebec.

In the session of 1888, the Quebec Legislature passed an Act, 51-52 Victoria Cap 13, intituled "An Act respecting the settlement of the Jesuits' Estates" which provoked an agitation in the province of Ontario, threatening at one time serious consequences.

Shortly after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the estates belonging to the Order in Canada were transferred by the Imperial authorities to the old province of Canada, and at the time of Confederation a large portion of this property passed to the newly constituted province of Quebec. The local government of that province recognized a certain moral claim on the part of the original owners of this property to compensation for its violent alienation, and ultimately agreed with the representatives of the Society that this claim should be extinguished by the payment from the Government to the company of the sum of $400,000. The Act of 1888 gave effect to this settlement. Immediately there arose an agitation among the Orange element in Ontario and Quebec. Petitions from various Protestant bodies, including the Dominion Evangelical Alliance, various Presbyteries in connection with the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and a number of Orange societies, poured in upon the Governor-General in Council for the disallowance of the measure, mainly on the grounds of the unfavourable estimate of the Jesuit order entertained by the petitioners, and also

of the language of the preamble of the Act, in which they saw a recognition of "powers in the Holy See that are perilous to the supremacy of the Queen".

Sir John Macdonald did not agree with this view. He was unable to see that the merits or demerits of the Society of Jesus had any bearing upon the case, and while he agreed that the language of the preamble of the Act was objectionable (and no doubt designedly so), he held that that was not a sufficient reason to justify the nullification of the Act itself, which he regarded as dealing with a subject of purely provincial concern, having relation to a fiscal matter entirely within the control of the Province of Quebec. The power of disallowance vested in the Governor-General is a most necessary and useful provision of our constitution, but one to be exercised with prudence and discretion, and only when demanded by grave and urgent reasons of State.

During the session of 1888 the Quebec Legislature had passed two Acts calling for the exercise of this power. One of these was disallowed,[1] and the other only escaped a like fate by being amended at the next session in such a manner as to remove its objectionable provisions. Moreover, Sir John Macdonald was having much trouble at that time with several of the Provincial legislatures which were showing a disposition to encroach upon the federal domain, and it especially behoved him to avoid interference with legislation clearly within the powers of the Provincial legislatures. He was persuaded that the obnoxious phrases in the preamble of the Jesuits Estates Act had been inserted with the express object of tempting him to an arbitrary and unjust exercise of power, which would react disastrously upon him, not only in Quebec, but also in Ontario, Manitoba, and elsewhere. This he was determined to avoid. For these reasons he recommended that the Jesuits' Estates Act be left to its operation.

At the ensuing session of Parliament a vote of censure upon the Government was moved in the House of Commons by a Conservative member, which, though supported by all the

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[1] "An Act to amend the law respecting District Magistrates," disallowed 7th September, 1888.

ability and eloquence of Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, was defeated by an overwhelming majority—the vote standing 188 to 13.

The question was then referred home, and the law officers of the Crown in England reported that the decision arrived at by the Canadian Government not to interfere with the operation of the Jesuit Estates Act, was right and constitutional.

An immediate result of this agitation was the formation of what was known as the Equal Rights Association of the Province of Ontario, which for a time threatened a schism in the ranks of the Conservative party, but which became defunct many years ago.

On the 14th April, 1889, Sir John Macdonald addressed to Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, the leading spirit in this movement, a private letter of which, unfortunately, a copy has not been preserved, though its general tenor I clearly recall. For some years previous to this date Mr. McCarthy occupied the position of President of the Liberal Conservative Union of Ontario, which he had recently resigned. He was, besides, an intimate personal friend of Sir John Macdonald, and a man of much charm. Sir John's letter was partly a remonstrance against McCarthy's resignation, and partly an appeal not to split the party over a question so utterly devoid of any practical significance as this Jesuit matter. He dwelt on what appeared to him an obvious fact, that McCarthy's course could not fail to advantage the Liberal party at the expense of their own, and for what? *Cui bono?* This view he developed at a meeting of his Ontario parliamentary supporters which he called about this time to consider the burning question of the hour. I was present at this gathering, and well remember the earnestness with which he spoke. He reminded his followers that he had been engaged in Upper Canada politics for well nigh 50 years continuously, and therefore might be supposed to know something about the subject: that if Mr. McCarthy and his sympathizers thought they were doing a service to the Conservative party by their present line of action, they were grievously mistaken: that the reason why he had been able to carry Ontario for the Dominion, while Mr. Meredith (the leader of the Opposition in the Provincial legislature)

consistently failed to do so, lay in the fact that he received the support of a certain percentage of what is commonly spoken of as the "Catholic vote", which Mr. Meredith's real or supposed sympathy with McCarthy's views on politico-religious questions, served to repel. This vote, though not large, was, in a province almost equally divided politically,[1] sufficient to turn the scale. He went on to express his apprehension that if Mr. McCarthy persisted in his fatuous course, he would alienate this saving remnant, and so bring defeat and disaster to the Conservative cause in the Dominion, in addition to stirring up a vast amount of religious bitterness, without, so far as he (Macdonald) could see, profiting anybody other than their political opponents. Apart from its injurious influence upon the peace of the community, which he greatly deplored, and its political effect upon the fortunes of his party, Sir John Macdonald at no time attached much importance to this controversy.

From D'Alton McCarthy, Esq., M.P., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Barrie, Ont., 17th April, 1889.*

My dear Sir John,

I am just in receipt of yours of the 14th instant, and I can assure you I am very much concerned at the tone of your letter and at the view you take of the position of affairs which you characterize, I hope too strongly, as a crisis.

Our views are so wide apart as to the policy to be pursued on matters such as this last Quebec question, that I do not see how they can be reconciled. For the time, I am quite certain in saying that the prevailing feeling, which is far more pronounced among Conservatives than Liberals, is not whether we are to be annexed, or to remain a part of the British Empire, but whether this country is to be English or French. And it is this problem and the apparent insoluble character of the difficulties that it presents, that are driving people openly to talk of annexation as the only means of escape.

Living as you do in Ottawa, you can hardly realize how this feeling has taken complete possession of the minds of many of the staunchest loyalists amongst us, and as a party matter I can only say this; that I am satisfied that the course we took—only eight of us as we were—has opened the means of saving the Conservative party of Ontario from extinction,

[1] An analysis of the total vote cast in the Province of Ontario at the Dominion General Elections held on the 22nd February, 1887, which resulted in the return of 54 Conservatives to 38 Liberals, shows that the excess of Conservative over Liberal votes polled was only 1.52 per cent—that is to say, for every 304 Conservative votes polled, the Liberals polled 300.

while if more had joined us, the Conservative party would have gained all the advantage possible under the circumstances—unfortunate as they were. While now, unless I take control and endeavour to pilot the bark we may yet be wrecked.

You are too, as I venture to think, very far astray in supposing that the Liberals can possibly gain from the agitation. The first object on which the Protestants of Ontario desire to execute justice is Mowat. Meredith has only to lead on and Mowat's days are numbered.

For myself, I have no ambition to serve in politics, and if I could decently retire I would gladly do so. But that seems out of the question just now, for having helped to sow the wind, I must, in decency be prepared to withstand the possible whirlwind. And I must go to the Toronto meeting, although personally I would gladly remain away. I have promised to attend, and execrations would deservedly await me did I now flinch.

You mistake my motive for resigning the chairmanship of the Liberal-Conservative Union. It is not that I care for the abuse of those who have assailed me, but I have no right to remain in a position which means more difficulties for those who, differing from me, stood by the Government, and will in consequence have a hard fight to hold their seats. Besides my future course may—nay must (if I continue in politics) be very objectionable to the French wing of the party. In fact my views of the duty of the Conservative party is to hold by and lean on the English Provinces—while, so far as I can understand, yours is rather to depend on Quebec.

You are mistaken in supposing that I had any reluctance to discuss matters with you, but as you did not ask for any interview, it was not, as I thought, for me to press my views upon you.

I would just say in conclusion, that to my mind the great matter just now is to prevent the agitation, which is founded on the depth of feeling not unlike that which induced the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal, from being controlled by the Grits—and to be guided or kept for the Conservative cause. The Government are not in any danger during this Parliament—and for the next, there is ample time for events to develop themselves, and it would be absurd to attempt just now to do more than keep in touch with the people—our own people—in this and kindred subjects.

Yours very sincerely,
D'Alton McCarthy.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston.

Ottawa, 14th May, 1889.

Dear Lord Stanley:

In the matter of the dismissal of Angus B. Morrison.[1]

The rule always followed in Canada since Lord John Russell's despatch of 16 Oct. 1839, has been that Civil ser-

[1] Light keeper, Victoria County, Nova Scotia: dismissed for political partisanship.

vants shall be allowed to exercise their elective franchise as they please, and be afforded the opportunity to go to the polls, but that they must not act as agents or canvassers, or take any active part in any election contest.

Both parties in Canada understand and acquiesce in this rule. It is besides, considered unseemly that a subordinate officer under a Govt, should be allowed to denounce it or its acts.

If this rule is not adhered to, the only course seems to be to deprive office holders of the right to vote.

In the present case Morrison seems to have forgotten his position as a civil servant altogether—to have absented himself without leave, and to have acted as an agent at the polls—and, as such, of course performing the duty of a scrutineer; objecting to particular voters, and causing them to take the qualification, bribery and other oaths. In doing this he knew he was imperilling his office.

The truth, I have no doubt, is that there was a general impression that the ministry was going to be defeated, and that Morrison thought it expedient to have the gratitude of their successors by his activity.

I may say that the complainant, although a namesake, is no relation or connection of mine.

Believe me,
dear Lord Stanley,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 31st May, 1889.

Private.

MY DEAR TUPPER,

I send you Sir John Thompson's memorandum on the Jesuit Question. A copy will be sent by the Governor-General to Lord Knutsford.[1] It is an able and exhaustive paper. I have told Thompson that its only fault is that it is

[1] Sir Henry Holland, Bart., Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord Salisbury's second administration; raised to the peerage in 1888 with the title of Baron Knutsford.

too elaborate, and suggests, while it answers, objections which would probably not occur to the law officers in England.

The unwholesome agitation is still going on in Ontario and Montreal. It has not yet made its appearance elsewhere, but the drum ecclesiastic is now being beaten so loudly that the sound may reach the other provinces. It is therefore of importance that an opinion should be obtained from the Attorney and Solicitor-General, affirming the validity and constitutionality of the provincial Act. Lord Stanley will, or rather has, stated to the Colonial Minister that you will see him on the subject and urge its prompt attention. It is not probable, I think, that the law officers can be got to see that the matter is so free from doubt that there is really no case for submission to the Judicial Committee as prayed for by the Evangelical Alliance. Of course it would be of the greatest importance to have such a statement embodied in the opinion, so you must try your hand at it.

I am too ignorant of official etiquette to know whether you will be allowed to communicate directly with the Attorney-General, or whether you must submit to the absurd practice in England of having all communications through a solicitor. It would be of importance that you should see him yourself, and press with your usual energy the political necessity for giving this subject its immediate quietus, and putting an end to the fanatical excitement which threatens a disastrous conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism, and a renewal of the sectional and religious agitation which we had hoped we had extinguished by the confederation of the provinces.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.

From the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Viceregal Lodge,
Simla,
June 23, 1889.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

It was very pleasant to read your long letter of May 14th, and to hear from you something of passing events in Canada. I fancied myself back

in my study at Ottawa, listening to your confidences as to House of Commons prospects, and difficulties unsuspected by the outside world, within the Cabinet. Pope's death grieved me. I began by thinking him a very disagreeable sort of person. I ended by learning to appreciate his sagacity and discovering how much kindliness lurked beneath that rugged shell. I remember chuckling inwardly when I found that he not only succumbed to an invitation to our house, but showed a disposition to flirt with Lady Lansdowne. It was, however, as your trusted ally and confidant that I thought mainly of him when I heard of his death. I was sure you would feel it deeply.

I followed with close interest the features of the Jesuit bill. I have just been scanning the features of the immortal 13 in "Grip"—amongst them are several of my old parliamentary friends. I have no time to read the debate, but I thought Sir John Thompson's speech admirable. It would have converted me if I had had any doubts. The bill itself seemed to me very objectionable, but the matter is one with which the Province has a right to deal.

I shall be curious to see whether you are able to come to terms with the U. S. about fishery questions in the two oceans. Pauncefote[1] is a hard headed and hard working man of business, and is more likely to help you than my friend West, who used to take things very easily indeed.

By the merest accident I read, about a week ago, the account of the St. Sauveur fire and poor Short's[2] tragical death. We knew him very well in old citadel days, and I always thought him one of your smartest officers. I have asked Caron to make my sympathy known to my B. battery friends, and Lady L. has written to the poor little widow.

I have been here since the middle of April. The *Times*, instigated by its Calcutta correspondent, persistently represents Simla as a sort of Capua, the inhabitants of which are devoted to dissipation of every sort, to the exclusion of business, and I suspect that the average English M.P. is convinced that we come here with the same objects as those with which he annually repairs to the Highlands or the Continent. I wish it were so!

The grind is, as far as we officials are concerned, incessant, and the only redeeming feature is that one is better able to work here than in the plains, and less interrupted. At this moment we have no serious external complication. If there was to be one, I really don't see how it would be possible to get through the daily routine of ordinary papers. I am my own foreign minister, and this brings me many interesting questions and much correspondence with Afghanistan, Kashmir and the native states generally. We were on the point of a breach of the peace between the Amir and Russia in the early spring, but that was fortunately averted. The Amir is far from popular with his own people, but he is what is called a "strong ruler" and manages to hold his country together. He is not

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[1] Her Majesty's Minister to the United States, afterwards Lord Pauncefote.

[2] The allusion here is to the death of Major Charles Short of the Royal Canadian Artillery, who, in endeavouring to check the spread of a fire at St. Sauveur, Quebec, was blown to pieces on the 16th May, 1889.

unlikely to be murdered by one of his own subjects, and then we shall have a *mauvais quart d'heure.*

Our difficulties are immensely increased by the growing tendency of the House of Commons to interfere in Indian politics. Bradlaugh is now the recognized representative of the Indian grievance mongers, and scarcely a day passes without an Indian question. Occasionally we are treated to a motion, and these, unluckily, are not always unsuccessful, as *e.g.*, when, not long before I came out, the House took it into its head to order us peremptorily to discontinue all precautions against disease of a certain sort. The result is that the Commander-in-Chief reports that half the army is *hors de combat.*

Our rains have just begun, and we are surrounded by a fog which reminds me of Kerry at its worst. I see, by the way, that my old friend O'Brien has not forgotten his Canadian fiasco, and has been having another run at me. I am in great hopes that the Commission may after all end unfavourably to him and his brother bandits.

The painter has, I am sorry to say, not yet "materialized," but I shall manage to get the picture done before long.

I am sending you, through the High Commissioner's office, two Lucknow silver bowls, which I ordered on my way from Calcutta. I hope you will find a corner for them at Earnscliffe, and that they will sometimes remind you and Lady Macdonald of an absent friend who does not forget Canada.

Remember me very kindly to Mr. Dewdney and to Sir J. Thompson, and to any of your colleagues who are still mindful of my existence, and believe me, dear Sir John,

Yours sincerely,
LANSDOWNE.

Lady Lansdowne keeps fairly well. I cannot say more. The girls are very prosperous indeed.

From Sir John Macdonald to James Edgecome, Esq.

Rivière du Loup.
Canada, 4th July, 1889.

DEAR SIR,

I must apologize for having overlooked your favour of the 3rd May last. It arrived in the midst of our session of Parliament, when I was overwhelmed with business, and got mislaid. It has now turned up amongst my arrears of correspondence.

You speak of a deputation of prominent men visiting Canada for the purpose of obtaining an expression of opinion in favour of reciprocal trade relations between the Dominion and the mother country. Now there is no necessity for any such deputation visiting us for the purpose of convincing our

people of the great advantage of such reciprocal trade. We are united on that point. Such a deputation, however, would be warmly received by our people, and their representations as to the state of things here, on their return to England, might advance the cause of fair trade there.

I fear, however, there is small prospect of fair trade succeeding in the United Kingdom until it is shown that the colonies and India are capable, or nearly capable, of producing the food supply which the mother country is obliged to import. Whenever it is shown that that time has nearly arrived, the imposition of a small duty on foreign corn and cattle would give a wonderful impetus to their production within the bounds of the Empire, and the supply would soon exceed the demand. We are looking forward with some confidence to a large wheat crop in Canada this year, especially in Manitoba, and the North West, and if India and Australia are equally fortunate, the time for making a move will have nearly arrived. If the Imperial Parliament could only be persuaded to put a small duty on colonial corn, and a considerably larger one on foreign grain and other food, Canada would be prepared to make a large discrimination of duties in favour of the productions of the mother country.

I fear however that the fetish of free trade has as yet too many worshippers in England to hope for such a result. However, the time will come, and we must wait.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

James Edgecome, Esq.

From Sir John Macdonald to the (1st) Baron Knutsford.

Confidential. *Rivière du Loup.*
July 18, 1889.

DEAR LORD KNUTSFORD,

I have to thank you at this the eleventh hour for your note about Mr. Hickson's knighthood. I am much interested in this matter, not so much on his account as on the ground that it is important that the Grand Trunk Railway should not be left out in the cold altogether, when the rival system has had honours showered upon it. It has so

happened that all the burden of attending to the transport of any of the royal family visiting us, has fallen upon the G.T.R. people, and principally on Mr. Hickson. I am, therefore, much gratified at your lordship's assurance that you will bear him in mind.

I can quite understand Her Majesty's desire to raise the degree of knight bachelor from the discredit into which it has in some degree fallen. One would like to see a Victorian knighthood as much esteemed as in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

But it seems to me expedient that some liberal system should be worked out and put in practice with regard to the colonies. The idea of the mother country and her colonies being one great empire, seems more and more to be taking possession of the public mind, and colonists should be taught to look forward to the Empress-Queen as the *fons honoris*. The monarchical idea should be fostered in the colonies, accompanied by some gradation of classes. At present, with some few exceptions, Canadians are all on one democratic level, as in the neighbouring Republic, and this fact, among others, is appealed to by the annexationists in Canada, as proving that our national sympathies are with the Americans, or should be so.

A great opportunity was lost in 1867 when the Dominion was formed out of the several provinces.[1] This remarkable event in the history of the British Empire, passed almost without notice. The new Confederation had at the time of union, about the same population as the 13 colonies when they rebelled and formed a nation imbued with the bitterest feelings of hostility towards England—feelings which, by the way, exist in as offensive a form now as they did on the day of the declaration of independence.

The declaration of all the B.N.A. provinces that they desired as one dominion to remain a portion of the Empire, showed what wise government and generous treatment would

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[1] "If, fifty years ago, we had directed our minds, our power, and our influence to that end [colonial development] you would now have had double the populations which the dominions at present possess, and would have diverted emigration to the dominions instead of to other lands. And you would also have attracted a virile population from Europe." *From speech of Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, at the Guildhall, 27th April, 1917.*

do, and should have been marked as an epoch in the history of England. This would probably have been the case, had Lord Carnarvon, who, as colonial minister, had sat at the cradle of the new Dominion, remained in office. His ill-omened resignation was followed by the appointment of the late Duke of Buckingham, who had as his adviser the then Governor-General, Lord Monck—both good men certainly, but quite unable, from the constitution of their minds, to rise to the occasion. The union was treated by them much as if the B.N.A. Act were a private bill uniting two or three English parishes. Had a different course been pursued—for instance had united Canada been declared to be an auxiliary kingdom, as it was in the Canadian draft of the bill, I feel sure (almost) that the Australian colonies would, ere this, have been applying to be placed in the same rank as *The Kingdom of Canada.*

Pray pardon this long discursive letter, which I have been tempted to bore you with, by the pleasant and cool breezes of the lower St. Lawrence, where I am spending some weeks of escape from the heat of Ottawa—and by the hope that by the time it reaches you, you will have been able to get away for a time from official communications.

Should I be able to visit England this year I shall not refrain from pressing my views on Her Majesty's Government even at greater length than I now venture to trouble your lordship with. Meanwhile,

Believe me, dear Lord Knutsford,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

P.S. On reading the above over I see that it will convey the impression that the change of title from *Kingdom* to *Dominion* was caused by the Duke of Buckingham. This is not so. It was made at the instance of Lord Derby, then foreign minister, who feared the first name would wound the sensibilities of the Yankees. I mentioned this incident in our history to Lord Beaconsfield at Hughenden in 1879, who said, "I was not aware of the circumstance, but it is so like Derby—a very good fellow, but who lives in a region of perpetual funk".

J. A. M.D.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir John Thompson

Les Rochers, St. Patrick,
Rivière du Loup.

Private. *July 24th, 1889.*

My dear Thompson,

I have carefully read your admirable paper on Hugh Graham's[1] petition. It exhausts the whole question. I would, however, suggest your altering in some degree, its tone as to Graham. He is friendly to the Dominion Government, and his paper is a power in the land. For instance, you say that he does not state that he has any doubts, and if he has not, it is hard to understand why he should not leave the matter in the hands of those who *do* doubt. Now this is, I think, not quite fair to Graham. He may think that the Government is quite right in its course, but yet, as a good citizen, desire for the sake of the peace of his country, to settle a question which, until disposed of finally, may very well cause dissension, disquiet and ill-feeling among the people of Canada.

Then, I don't quite understand the sentence on the 9th page—7th line—beginning with "The result of which." Pray pardon my want of comprehension, which however, may be useful, as suggesting to you to make it a little plainer, so that "he who runs may read."

Then I think the word "curiosity" at the foot of the page may be held to be a sneer at the great agitation now pervading certain portions of Canada, but I cannot find a substitute.

I have made a note on the margin on the 10th page, merely for the purpose of calling your attention to the grave danger of the practice of summary application for advice to the Supreme Court being resorted to. It would quickly grow, and a Dominion ministry, careless or ignorant of constitutional principles, might on every question of public interest, for popularity or some sinister purpose, freely use the power of reference. A Mercier government would leave every

[1] The present Lord Atholstan. His petition asked that the question of the legality and constitutionality of the Jesuit's Estates Act might be referred to the Supreme Court of Canada.

question to the Supreme Court, if it thought the courts below were adverse to its wishes. And it would be an inducement to pack the Supreme Court with its partisans, imitating in that respect the government of the United States.

The courts below would gradually be ousted of their jurisdiction, and a new Star Chamber formed. I don't think this at all an imaginary danger. Lastly, I doubt the policy of alluding, as is done on the 16th page, to what is stated in some quarters, although not in the petition, but I don't feel at all sure that I am right in my doubts.

We may expect the opinion of the law officers of the Crown very shortly in favour of our action, or rather inaction, and it may be well to postpone the publication of the Minute of Council based on your report, until its arrival. The publication of the *two* simultaneously will go far to kill the whole thing.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.,

Private.

Les Rochers, St. Patrick,
Rivière du Loup,
August 14th, 1889.

MY DEAR TUPPER,

Your speech on Federation has excited much attention in Canada, and a good deal of dissatisfaction in Quebec. The manner in which it has been treated by the English press generally, which will insist that you have spoken the opinions of the Canadian Government and as if by its authority, has aroused the suspicions of the French, and I look forward to some unpleasant discussions in our Parliament. The Opposition will oppose, of course, and they will attempt to make common cause with the French, and *may* carry a vote against—1st, Imperial Federation, and 2nd against a conference as proposed by you. It would be well I think for you to let it be known as widely as possible that you spoke your own opinions and not in any way as High Commissioner.

Thompson's report on the offer of Graham of the *Star* in the Jesuit matter, is a very able paper, and will have much effect. I think that when the despatch arrives containing

the opinion of the law officers, it will go far to snuff the cry out. I could have wished that the promised opinion had been here sometime ago.

We are joining Adam Brown with Abbott in the Australian mission.[1] Parmelee will be secretary to look after tariff matters, and will do the thing well. Abbott will be styled Chief Commissioner. I thought of joining S. Fleming on the commission, but it met with strong opposition in Council. Thompson says his evidence on the C.P.R. arbitration is "infamous".

Crops looking well on the whole, and, excepting the Jesuit matter, everything looks serene.

Yours always,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir George Stephen, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Montreal, 11th September, 1889.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

VanHorne tells me that Dewdney cannot be back in Ottawa before 24/25, and I take that to mean that the Government will probably not begin to consider the question of settling the C.P.R. land grant matter before the end of this month.

I have to go to New York next week on C.P.R. matters, and on Saturday 28th we sail by the *Umbria*, so that, so far as I am personally concerned, I am out of the controversy. I have had my say—having ever since my return to Canada in April last, in season and out, been urging upon the Government the great importance to both the Government and the Company in view of its bearing on the construction of the Souris and other branch lines, of promptly and finally disposing of the question of the location of the Company's land grant, and if I have failed to do any good, as I confess I have, I hope I may have done no serious harm.

It is impossible you can appreciate the injury done to the Company by practically tying its hands and preventing it taking the necessary steps to secure the capital for the Souris branch.

The C. P. R. Company cannot attempt to raise a dollar for the Souris branch until it knows where its lands are to be located, and that no one

[1] By Minute of Council dated the 17th August, 1889, the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott and Adam Brown were appointed commissioners to visit Australia, for the purpose of meeting in conference representatives of the various Australian colonies, to consider the best means for developing trade between Canada and Australia. Various difficulties arose, necessitating the postponement of this mission, upon which, as a matter of fact, Sir John Abbott never served. Some time after Sir John Macdonald's death (in 1893) the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, then Minister of Trade and Commerce, carried out Macdonald's original purpose by visiting Australia on a commercial mission.

can tell until the C.P.R.'s main line land grant is settled. But all this you know already.

You say nothing in your note of 9th about the question between the I.C.R. and the C.P.R. which if anything, is a still more pressing matter. If you have resolved on keeping the C.P.R. out of Halifax, I hope you will lose no time in saying so, and let Van Horne take such steps as may be open to him to avoid the daily loss which is now incurred by his fruitless efforts to do business in Halifax. On this question I have also exhausted myself, and have nothing more to say beyond telling you again how keenly I feel the treatment of the Government in this whole matter. How deeply I repent the confidence and credulity through which I was cajoled by Tupper and Pope to undertake the building of the short line. Anything you can possibly do now to facilitate the C.P.R. reaching Halifax, under the most favourable conditions, can only mitigate the injury to the C.P.R. Company for which I am, to a great extent, personally responsible, by its ever having had anything to do with the short line. As this is a matter that does not necessarily need Dewdney's presence in Council, I hope you will dispose of it at once.

Van Horne goes up to Hamilton to-night, but if his presence should be required at Ottawa in dealing with this matter, he will be ready to go up at any time he may be wanted.

I am oppressed by a dread that the friendly relations that have subsisted between the Government and the C.P.R. Company from the summer of 1880 down to a comparatively late day, will in some way collapse, and I am glad that I am going away. There is almost nothing I would not do to avert such a wretched family quarrel as that would be. But the unfairness and unfriendliness with which the Company have been treated in almost every matter that has come up for settlement, have made me, and not only me, but everyone connected with the Company, feel that the Government are afraid to do justice to the Company, apparently lest some one should say they were doing it a favour, or giving it another "grab."

I am not conscious of ever having asked the Government to do anything for the Company that was not absolutely *right*, *fair* and *reasonable*, and I am not going to begin now to act on any other principle. The Company, so far as I know, wants nothing but fair dealing and prompt action, and that it shall not be treated "unfriendly".

Pardon this long letter, which doesn't say half what I cannot help feeling.

Yours always,

GEORGE STEPHEN.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Stephen, Bart.

Private. *September 13/89.*

MY DEAR STEPHEN,

I was rather "irate" on first perusal of your note of the 11th. The charge of unjust treatment of the C.P.R. at my

hands, and from *you*, seemed to me inexplicable—but an angry discussion won't help matters. I shall do my duty to the country according to the best of my judgment, and suffer even the threatened hostility of the Company, if need be.

With respect to the short line, I regret that your expectations of traffic have been disappointed. That is no fault of the Government, and will, I hope and believe, be but temporary. The Government must treat the two systems of G.T.R. and C.P.R. with perfect impartiality and equal fairness. Parliament would I am sure, not permit any other course.

With respect to this matter, a sub-committee of Council will be formed to consider all the traffic arrangements between the I.C.R. and the C.P.R. I shall endeavour to have them sit next week.

As regards the land matter, I see no cause for delay if the C.P.R. is but reasonable.

As I understand, your offer is to take all the lands, i.e. all the odd numbered sections except H. Bay and School lands, without regard to quality, along the proposed branch or base lines. Let Canada keep the 4th lot or whatever may be its proportion. It will accept such lot, irrespective of quality, although the arrangement sanctioned by Parliament was that the land returned should be of fair average quality.

Agree to this and the matter is settled. If these lands will not be sufficient in quantity, then Government and Company can have recourse to the rest of the reserve for the balance, on equal terms.

I wish you would read Charles Reade's novel of "Put Yourself In His Place". I am sure if you were one of the ministry you would act as we are doing, but you, I fear, look only on matters from one point of view.

I hope yet to have the chance of a talk before you leave Canada, but I scarcely know how to manage it.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir George Stephen, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Montreal, 14th September, 1889.*

My dear Sir John,

Pray do not for one moment suppose that what I said in my last letter as to the dread I felt lest there should be a "bust up" between the Government and the C.P.R. Company, was in any sense meant as a *threat*. Nothing was further from my mind. I know perfectly well that if anything of that kind did happen, the C.P.R. would be the sufferer, and in the interests of the Company, I and everyone connected with it, are bound to do our best to avert the danger. It is not only our duty to do so, but it is our earnest desire and strong inclination to work in harmony with the Government in all things pertaining to the great work in which the Government and the Company have in common been engaged in during the past nine years. I know you "will do your duty to the country to the best of your judgment," but I cannot for my life see why that should be inconsistent with fair play and justice to the C.P.R., which are all we want or ask for. If the C.P.R. is asking for anything unfair or unreasonable from the Government, to grant, which would be a breach of faith or dereliction of duty towards the country, I am not aware of it. Anxious as I am and as I believe you are too, to see the C.P.R.'s success established on a firm basis, I couldn't knowingly lift a finger to aid it in making an unjust demand upon the Government for anything.

As to the short line traffic, we are not blaming the Government for its lightness. What we are asking is to be placed in a position to enable us to take our share of what there is to be got, be it much or little, that is all—and as I understand it there is nothing in Mr. Van Horne's proposal to prevent the I.C.R. handing over to the G.T.R. at Levis every pound of freight and every passenger it can get from Halifax westward, if it likes; all he asks is to be placed in a position to compete with the G.T.R. plus the I.C.R. in Halifax &c. As to the land matter, I do not know of the Company having made any such proposal as you sketch, and Van Horne and Clark are both away to-day. But there ought to be no insuperable difficulty in settling the whole thing, as soon as Dewdney comes back, on a basis that will be keeping faith with both Parliament and the Company. It is inconceivable that the Government or Parliament can wish really to take an unfair advantage of the Company, in this or any other matter, between it and the Government.

I will read Reade's book on the sea. I have no doubt it teaches a lesson that we all need to bear in mind.

I have to be in New York next week, but will be back here for a day or two before leaving on Thursday 26th to take the *Arabia* on 28th, and will, if it be within the range of possibility, run up to Ottawa for a day just to see you, if only to assure you of my perfect good faith in my pleading for fair play towards the C.P.R.

Always yours,
George Stephen.

From the Hon. J. A. Chapleau to Sir John Macdonald.

Private. *Ottawa, September 18th, 1889.*

My dear Sir John,

Mr. Tarte[1] of *Le Canadien* is asking me to have his letter to the *Montreal Herald* published in the *Empire*. I enclose the letter. I have no claims with the *Empire* people to ask them that favour. As you have been their *bailleur de fonds* to a vast extent, they would not refuse you. Do you think you can do it? Tarte says, with some reason, that our Ontario friends in the press are not over-zealous in their defence of their Quebec friends whom the *Mail* and other Grit papers are hammering without mercy, and he offers to write an article a week in the *Empire*, if allowed to do it. Could that be arranged?

Tarte is a moderate polemist, an Imperial Federalist and nearly a Legislative Unionist. He should not be suspected in the circle of the *Empire*.

Yours very truly,
J. A. Chapleau.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.

Private. *Earnscliffe, Ottawa.*
28th September, 1889.

My dear Tupper,

I have your semi-official letter of the 13th instant with respect to the Imperial Federation matter. You have taken the matter rather too much *au sérieux*. I thought it well to write you, as Langevin became nervous—not so much by the remarks made in the opposition papers here, as by the quotations from the English press which were widely disseminated by the Opposition here. These English papers expressly stated that although you declared that you did not speak for the Canadian Government, you would not have so spoken unless from instructions. The Quebecers here have got it into their heads that your proposal that a general conference should be held, involved the discussion of the expediency of altering the B.N.A. Act. This, though unfounded, caused some alarm. I have read your letter in

[1] Afterward the Hon. Joseph Israël Tarte, Minister of Public Works in the cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Died, 18th December, 1907.

Council and discussed the whole question, and I think we shall not hear anything more about it.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. John Macdonald.[1]

Private. *Earnscliffe,*
Ottawa, 16th November, 1889.

MY DEAR MACDONALD

As I learn from the enclosed letter from Mr. Duncan,[2] that you take an interest in his course, I send you some papers concerning it, which please read and return. From my personal communications with Mr. Duncan, I have satisfied myself that he is an ambitious man, brooking no control, and refusing to obey the laws of the land. I believe that when first sent to Metlakahtla he did a great deal of good among the Indians, but afterwards he had become so accustomed to unrestrained power that he lost his head altogether.

Some years ago I happened to be in England before Mr. Duncan left for Alaska, and I did what I could to bring him and the Church Missionary Society together. I must say that that body showed every desire to act cordially with him. I went so far, being their Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, as to offer him the appointment of Indian Agent at Metlakahtla district if he would carry into effect, as an Agent must do, the statutes relating to Indians and Indian Reserves. This offer he declined, and did everything he could on his return to the district to prevent the carrying

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[1] The Hon. John Macdonald, a prosperous Toronto merchant, Senator of Canada (1887–90). Died, 4th February, 1890.

[2] Mr. William Duncan, a lay missionary, was sent out from England in 1856 by the Church Missionary Society to minister to the natives on the Pacific coast. He was first stationed at Port Simpson, and later at the Indian village of Metlakahtla, where he laboured for many years among the Indians, over whom he acquired much influence. Owing to differences with the authorities, both ecclesiastical and civil, Mr. Duncan removed in 1887 to Annette Island in Alaska, where another Metlakahtla was erected. Mr. Duncan's last days were embittered by disputes with the United States Government. He asked to be allowed to return to British Columbia, but on this no decision had been come to at the time of his death, in August, 1918.

of the law into effect. Of this the British Columbia Government complained again and again, and his conduct in disturbing the minds of the Indians caused so much trouble that the Provincial Government was obliged to appoint a stipendiary magistrate for the purpose of seeing the law obeyed—the Dominion Government paying the salary of that functionary. I am convinced that if he had not left the country we should have had armed resistance from some of the Indians in the Metlakahtla district. I send you these papers for your information only.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Hon. John Macdonald,
Toronto.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.

Private.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, December 7th, 1889.

MY DEAR TUPPER,

I duly received your two cables anent Behring Sea,[1] and have since seen the secret despatch on the subject. It is so vague and unsatisfactory that we thought it well to get the Governor-General to send a cable, a copy of which I enclose. I should rather say that this is a memo. which we gave him. He may perhaps alter it a little as to its language. I fancy this memo. will be considered as rather peremptory, but at any rate it will serve to state our views and wishes. It is quite evident that Blaine's whole aim is to mix up the two questions of *mare clausum* and the preservation of the seal, and from the vague language of the despatch it is uncertain whether in case the United States should still claim the whole sea, the negotiations as to close time would not still be proceeded with.

You will long ere this have seen Sir Donald Smith and learned from him that the running powers of the C.P.R. over

[1] This refers to the claims of the United States to regard Behring Sea as a *mare clausum*, and to rights of protection or property in the fur seals frequenting that sea when outside the ordinary three-mile limit. Both these contentions were decided against the United States by the Behring Sea Arbitration Tribunal in its award delivered in Paris on the 15th August, 1893.

the I.C.R. between Halifax and St. John have been practically settled. Schreiber is now in Montreal looking out the details of the tariff, &c., with Van Horne. I hope they won't quarrel. It is not likely that they will. When the thing is finally closed, I shall write you a letter which Mr. Goschen may see.

We as yet cannot agree with the C.P.R. as to the selection of the land grant. They want all the odd numbered sections along the main line, and on half a dozen branches which they have laid down on a map, and which include all the railway lines likely to be built in my time, and tell us we may help ourselves for the six million acres we bought with 10 millions of money, wherever elsewhere in the North West we may like. This is so unreasonable that we object. We couldn't face Parliament for a moment if we acceded to this demand.

You see I have taken Railways and given Colby[1] the Presidency of the Council.

I was very unwilling to do this, but could not avoid it without a *crise ministerielle*.

This unhappy Jesuit business has roused a racial and religious feeling of hostility which may lead to disastrous consequences, although there are evidences of returning sense in the extreme Protestant party.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Mr. Justice Johnson.[2]

Private. *Earnscliffe, Ottawa.*
10th December, 1889.

MY DEAR FRANK,

I am glad to tell you that an Order-in-Council has passed creating you Chief Justice, and you will not be required to remove your habitat to Quebec.

[1] The Hon. C. C. Colby, elected to the House of Commons for Stanstead, P. Q., in 1867, and continued to represent that county for many years; sworn of the Privy Council and appointed President thereof on the 28th November, 1889. Died, 10th January, 1907.

[2] Sir Frank Johnson, Kt., puisne judge of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec (1865–89); Chief Justice of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec (1889–94). Mr. Justice Johnson was recorder of the Province of Manitoba from the 13th September, 1870, to the 1st June, 1872. Died, 27th May, 1894.

Now, if you like, I shall ask the Governor-General to recommend you for a knighthood. I am strongly of opinion that the chief justices in all the important provinces should receive that honour on appointment. The Chief Justice of every little sugar Island in the West Indies is knighted as a matter of course. It will cost you a hundred pounds or thereabouts, but the thing is worth the money.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Honble.
Mr. Justice Johnson.

From Sir John Macdonald to Mr. Justice Casault.[1]

Private and Confidential. *Earnscliffe,*
10th December, 1889.

MY DEAR CASAULT,

I understand from Caron that he has written you about the circumstances attending the appointment of Sir Andrew Stuart's successor. All my colleagues, as well as myself, (especially those who know you) would have much preferred you, but the fact of Johnson's seniority, and the certainty that the English mischief makers in Montreal would have raised a howl about his being passed over, caused us to give the matter our most serious consideration.

The racial and religious bitterness engendered by Mercier's

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[1] Sir L. E. N. Casault, Kt., Puisne Judge of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec (1870–94); Chief Justice of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec (1894–1904). Died, 18th May, 1908. In this letter Sir John Macdonald alludes to the rule which ordains that whenever the Chief Justice of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec resides in the city of Quebec, the Judge appointed to perform the duties of the Chief Justice in the District of Montreal, as constituted for the Court of Review, resides in the city of Montreal; and whenever the Chief Justice resides in the city of Montreal, the Judge appointed to perform the duties of the Chief Justice in the District of Quebec, as constituted for the Court of Review, resides in the city of Quebec (Art. 3073 and 3074, R.S.Q. 1909). The Acting Chief Justice is designated "Acting Chief Justice of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec," and he is entitled to precedence immediately after the Chief Justice of the Superior Court (7 Geo. V. Chap. 31, Que., 1916).

Mr. Justice Casault was at this period the senior Judge of the Superior Court residing in the city of Quebec. He was a gentleman for whom Sir John Macdonald had a very high regard.

unhappy measure has taken a malignant form, which may endanger the future prosperity of the Dominion, and the Govt. thought it well not in this instance to give these "Equal Rights" fanatics the chance of raising the cry that Johnson was passed over because he was an Englishman.

Meanwhile as senior or presiding judge you are in fact a chief justice. I am resolved, as far as I can, to treat you as such, and in that view, shall ask Lord Stanley, with your permission, to recommend Johnson and yourself as C. Justices for the honour of knighthood. I presume the request will be granted, but sometimes there are unaccountable delays in these matters. The honour will cost you some £100 or thereabout. Let me know your wishes in that regard.

Believe me, my dear Casault,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston.

Earnscliffe, Ottawa,
December 14, 1889.

DEAR LORD STANLEY,

I really think it would be better not to answer the Mormon letter from Salt Lake City. It does not call for a reply, and it would almost seem as if the writers desired to draw an acknowledgment for the purpose of publication.

Now the Mormons are held to be an illegal body in the United States, and it would shock the moral sense of the Americans to see Your Excellency in any way recognize such objectionable persons as Brigham Young and Joseph F. Smith.

Believe me,
dear Lord Stanley,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston to Sir John Macdonald.

Private.

Government House,
Ottawa, December, 23, 1889.

My dear Sir John,

I return, with many thanks, the very interesting letters from Sir C. Tupper, which you were good enough to send to me. Mr. Ritchie knows what he is about, and is not likely to be misled by over-sanguine projects.

Much depends on details, both with regard to the distances over which traffic has to be hauled, and as to the conditions of chemical treatment of the ores—but if there is likely to be such a future as is predicted for the use of nickel, and if there are actually so few known deposits, it looks as if a great industry might be built up near Sudbury.

I shall look out eagerly for any further developments and shall be glad if you hear more from Sir Charles.

Yours very truly,
Stanley of Preston.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lt.-Governor of Manitoba.

Confidential.

Earnscliffe,
8th January, 1890.

My dear Schultz,

I commenced sometime ago to answer your confidential note of the 9th ult., but I was called away to other matters and only now take it up.

It is almost impossible to give you any specific counsel on some of the matters you allude to, because it is impossible to forecast what the eccentricities of Martin and his subordinate Greenway may lead them to. Generally I would say that if the legislature passes a Bill establishing a ministry of education, you should give it your assent.

The Provincial Legislature has no power to pass an Act diminishing the privileges secured to separate schools and those attending them, by the constitution. I suggest your sending me by first mail, from time to time, any Bills that are introduced on the subject, and any amendments that may be proposed in the course of discussion of such measure.

I see that public feeling in your Province has been roused to a considerable extent against Martin's programme,

though to what extent I cannot judge at this distance. If no sum is put in the estimates for separate schools, it will be for those institutions to take such a course as they are legally advised to do, and to bring the subject in due form before the Dominion Govt. and Parliament.

With respect to the Consolidated Statutes to be laid before your House next session, I would suggest your saying to Mr. Greenway that a copy of the statutes as finally passed must be delivered to you as Lieut. Governor, authenticated by the signature of your proper officer as being the Act to which you are asked to give your assent. You should retain that copy and sign another, which other is the act which becomes law. Immediately afterwards, if you find upon examination that the Act passed by the Legislature, and yourself as a portion of that body, does not agree in terms with the copy deposited with you, you should at once call the attention, by a formal despatch, of His Excellency the Governor-General to it, and should inform your first minister of your intention so to do, and of your having done so. You cannot give assent to a part of an Act and reject or reserve another part.

I don't think it would be at all wise in you to force Martin out of Greenway's Government. As they came together into the Government, so must they depart.

I quite agree with your resolve to pursue a system of masterly inactivity.

Greenway and Martin cannot do much more harm, and it is much better to allow them to run themselves into the ground than to give them an opportunity of posing as martyrs in the eyes of their friends.

With kind regards to Mrs. Schultz and wishing you both many happy New Years,

Believe me,
Very faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Honour
Lt. Governor Schultz.

P.S. I greatly approve your course as to Crossley and Hunter.[1]

[1] Two well-known evangelists of the day, in whose labours Sir John Macdonald showed much interest, by attending their services, and causing it to be understood that they enjoyed his encouragement and approval.

From Sir John Macdonald to N. Chevrier, Esq.

Private. *Earnscliffe,*
25th March, 1890.

My dear Sir,

I have your letter of the 12th inst. I am strongly of opinion that the only mode by which the separate school question can be satisfactorily settled in your province, is by an appeal to the courts. If the Bill were disallowed, the game of Greenway and Martin would be played successfully. They would probably summon the Legislature again, and carry the Bill over again, and then dissolve and go to the country. The excitement would be tremendous, and the question would remain unsettled, whereas a decision by the courts would finally dispose of it and the agitation consequent upon it.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
John A. Macdonald.

N. Chevrier, Esq.,
Winnipeg, Man.

The reference in the foregoing letter is to the Manitoba School question which subsequently attained much prominence, and in 1896 contributed largely to the defeat of the Conservative Government under the leadership of Sir Charles Tupper. For twenty years from the establishment of Manitoba and its incorporation into the Dominion of Canada, the Roman Catholic minority in that Province enjoyed the privilege of separate schools. This, it was thought, had been guaranteed to them by section 93 of the B.N.A. Act, but to make assurance doubly sure, a clause was inserted in the Imperial Act confirming the establishment of the new Province, providing that it should not be competent for the Parliament of Canada to alter the provisions of the Manitoba Act respecting education, in so far as they relate to the Province of Manitoba. The sequel affords a striking illustration of the glorious uncertainty of the law. In 1890 the Greenway-Martin Government carried through the Manitoba Legislature certain acts abolishing separate

schools. The minority appealed to Ottawa for disallowance of these statutes, but Sir John Macdonald and his Minister of Justice were of opinion that their provisions, so far as they prejudicially affected the rights and privileges of the minority in respect of separate schools, were so obviously beyond the powers of the Provincial Legislature that it was unnecessary to invoke the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council by way of disallowance, and that the wiser course would be to leave the obnoxious legislation to be declared *ultra vires* by the courts. Action was accordingly begun before the local tribunals, in the name of one Barrett, by an application to a judge sitting in chambers to quash two Winnipeg municipal by-laws founded on the school law. This application was dismissed with costs on the 27th October, 1890. From this decision the applicant appealed to the Manitoba full Court of Queen's Bench in Michaelmas term 1890, with the result that the judge's decision was affirmed.

The case was then appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada which unanimously reversed with costs the decision of the Court of Manitoba Queen's Bench (28 October, 1891), holding that the school law (53 Vic. Cap. 38) was *ultra vires* of the Legislature of the Province. The respondents, the City of Winnipeg, thereupon appealed against this decision to the Privy Council, which (30 July, 1892) allowed the appeal with costs, holding that the Act on which the municipal by-laws were based was within the competence of the Manitoba Legislature.

Neither of these two latter decisions was delivered in Sir John Macdonald's lifetime. The agitation and all the troubles that followed belong to a later period than that with which we are here concerned.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Rev. C. H. Machin.

Earnscliffe,
4th April, 1890.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Pardon me for not answering your note of the 10th ult. before, but pressure of business is my excuse. I have no recollection of having had any conversation with a correspondent of the *New York Herald*, but I have talked to a

number of people on the subject of Imperial Federation, and my views, more or less accurately stated, I daresay appeared in the newspapers.

I am very desirous that the connection between the mother country and the colonies shall be drawn closer, and that the large groups of colonies should assume by degrees a position less of dependence and more of alliance. I think this can only be done however by treaty or convention, and I am a total disbeliever in the practicability of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. There is no necessity, however, for such a representation. The great objects of common defence and preferential trade can be arrived at by treaty arrangement.

I am so much engaged during the session that I must limit myself to this short and imperfect statement of my opinion on this subject.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Reverend
C. H. Machin
Port Arthur.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

Earnscliffe,
7th May, 1890.

Private.

DEAR SCHULTZ,

I have yours of the 3rd inst. I have only time to say that you have every legal and constitutional right to insist upon receiving the advice of your First Minister and to act upon it. The Premier is in fact the ministry, and should there be any difference of opinion between him and any member of the cabinet, his advice must prevail with you. This especially applies to the circumstances you mention, when Mr. Greenway informed you that there would be no appointments made or action taken on the separate school act until a decision was obtained from the courts. Should Martin recommend any appointments during Greenway's absence, you should decline to make them until Greenway's return.

We are just winding up the session and I have not time to write you on things in general.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His Honour,
Lt. Governor Schultz.
Winnipeg.

From Sir John Macdonald to A. H. Seymour, Esq.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 13th June, 1890.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 30th ultimo, and am much obliged for the copy of the report of the Geological Survey of your Island which you have sent me.

I think, with you, that it would be for the interest both of the Dominion and Newfoundland that they be under one government. So far as Canada is concerned, union would I fear involve a pecuniary loss, but such loss would be more than compensated for by the united policy and action which would be pursued after Confederation. At present the policies of the two Governments on commercial, fishing and other questions are often divergent—sometimes a position of seeming hostility appears to be imminent. If the two formed one country, there would of course be one policy, both foreign and domestic, and greater influence would therefore be had with the mother country, as well as with the United States and France.

I had the pleasure of meeting Sir William Whiteway[1] some years ago in England, and was much impressed with his ability. If he takes up the question with vigour, I am certain that union will be effected. My ignorance of the state of parties in your Island is such that any suggestions of mine as to the best mode for you to direct your energies with a view

[1] Sir William Whiteway, Prime Minister of Newfoundland 1878–1885, 1889–1894, 1895–1897.

to the accomplishment of Confederation, would be of no value. I shall be glad to hear from you with reference to the progress of events, when your leisure permits.

Meanwhile,

Believe me, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Alfred H. Seymour, Esq.,
Gordon Lodge, Harbour Grace,
Newfoundland.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Henry Parkes.[1]

Rivière du Loup,
3rd July, 1890.

DEAR SIR HENRY PARKES,

Pray accept my best thanks for your kind attention in sending me the volume containing the proceedings of your Confederation conference, as well as your important speech on the subject.

The papers containing a report of the discussions in the convention have doubtless reached Ottawa by this time. They will be forwarded to me down here by the sea where I am enjoying my summer's outing.

We are looking on in Canada, with the greatest interest, at this effort to unite all Australasia in one Confederation. I need not say that we wish you every success.

I shall be glad to hear from you as to the progress of the negotiations, and if you desire information of any kind with regard to our experience of the workings of our Confederation Act, I shall only be too happy to send it.

Believe me,
Very faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

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[1] The Premier of New South Wales.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston

Rivière du Loup,
7th July, 1890.

DEAR LORD STANLEY,

The death of Mr. McLelan calls for another Lt. Governor of Nova Scotia, and we submit to your Excellency the name of Mr. Malachy Daly of Halifax for the vacancy.

Mr. Daly is, I think, in every way fit for the position. His father Sir Dominick Daly you will probably remember as Governor of Mauritius and several other colonies.

He has represented Halifax in the Dominion Parliament, holds a very good social position, and is well up in the duties of a Lt. Governor, having been private secy. to the late Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell when Governor of Nova Scotia.

Mrs. Daly is the daughter of Sir Edward Kenny and sister of the present member for Halifax, and has charming manners. So I submit Mr. Daly as a fitting man for the place.

The public service has sustained a great loss in the death of Mr. John Page the Chief Engineer of Govt. Canals. He was a first rate hydraulic engineer, and an honest, reliable man. I don't see how he is to be replaced.

Believe me,
dear Lord Stanley,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston

Private.

Rivière du Loup,
August 15, 1890.

DEAR LORD STANLEY,

I have just received your favour of the 11th instant with the three minutes of Council.

Formerly when minutes were recommended to be sent to

the colonial minister, no copies or information respecting them were sent to the Canadian agent-general or High Commissioner.

It therefore frequently happened that when the minister desired to discuss a Canadian question with our agent, such agent knew nothing about it.

The practice was therefore introduced of insisting on instructions that a copy shall be sent him.

By degrees the colonial ministers have begun to treat the colonial representatives as diplomatic agents, rather than as subordinate executive officers, and to consult them as such.

Canada has found it advantageous on several occasions to have Sir Charles Tupper dealt with as a *quasi* member of the corps diplomatique, and I have no doubt the Colonial Secretary has been assisted by the experience which Sir Charles had gained during his service as a cabinet minister in Canada. We do not however desire to give him "a free hand" on any subject in discussion with the Imperial Government. He must take his instructions from the Government here, as much as Sir Julian Pauncefote from Lord Salisbury, and cannot travel out of "the four corners" of any minute in which his name is mentioned.

As to the *Araunah*[1] minute, I think with Your Excellency that the Canadian Government should explain fully its views, and not leave "further" explanations to be made by the Commissioner. I have therefore altered Mr. Tupper's recommendation in a manner which will I hope meet Your Excellency's approbation.

With respect to the Minute on the Newfoundland Bait Act, you will observe that I have amended the recommendation.

As the Imperial Parliament has been prorogued, or will be so in a few days, there is no reason for hurry in sending home the minute respecting the Merchant Shipping Act. I

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[1] This refers to the case of the British steamer *Araunah*, seized in Behring Sea on the 1st July, 1888, by the Russian merchant steamer *Alexander II* for alleged violation of the fishing and hunting laws of the Imperial Russian Government, in pursuing her avocation of sealing on the high seas.

have therefore written to Ottawa that it can stand over until the cabinet assembles in force next month.

Believe me, dear Lord Stanley,

Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Marquess of Lorne.

Rivière du Loup,
August 18, 1890.

DEAR LORD LORNE,

I was glad to get your note of the 27th ult. as an additional evidence of your continuing interest in Canada. I am very sorry for General Middleton,[1] and did what I could to save him, but he acted foolishly, and I fear there is more trouble in store for him. The consequence of his *faux pas* has been that the press here have been calling for an appt. of a Canadian officer without reference to the Horse Guards or War Office. The Government has no sympathy with this cry, nor, so far as I know, have the leaders of the Opposition. All we want is to get an officer fit for the position, and I am personally opposed to the appt. of any one believed by the Imperial military authorities to be unfit.

But by our law the appt. rests with the Gov. General in council, and they cannot divest themselves of the responsibility.

Your Lordship may remember that the ministry were attacked for the eccentricities of General Luard[2] and an attempt made to hold them responsible for his misdoings.

We cannot afford a recurrence of these troubles, and therefore Middleton's successor must be chosen after an interchange of views with the Imperial Govt.

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[1] Major General (afterward Sir) Frederick Dobson Middleton, commanding the Canadian Forces engaged in the suppression of the North West rising of 1885. The reference here is to a quantity of furs taken from one Charles Bremner, a half-breed residing at Battleford, by order of General Middleton. For the report on this matter, with the evidence, see Appendix No. I, Journals House of Commons, 1890. Sir Frederick Middleton commanded the Militia of Canada from 12th July, 1884, to 30th June, 1890.

[2] Major General Richard Amherst Luard commanded the Militia of Canada from 1st July, 1880, to 30th April, 1884.

Middleton's resignation has only been sent in a few days ago, and the subject will be taken up when the cabinet re-assembles next month after the holidays.

I need scarcely assure you that it is my earnest desire to keep Canada in perfect accord with the mother country, and especially in the all important question of national defence.

Believe me, my dear Lord Lorne,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Lord Knutsford.

Rivière du Loup,
August 18, 1890.

DEAR LORD KNUTSFORD,

I have your and Lord Lorne's notes.

The officer commanding the Canadian militia must be an Imperial military officer, holding the rank of colonel at least. The appointment, and therefore the responsibility of selection, rests with the Governor-General and his advisers.

All we want is to get a good man for the command, and in order to be sure of that, we must consult the Imperial military authorities. But before General Middleton had sent in his resignation, a nomination of Col. Herbert[1] arrived from the Horse Guards. Now, while we shall consult and pay every attention to the recommendation emanating from that source, we must have a voice in the matter, and we are more particular on this point, as a very unfortunate appt. was made, which gave Lord Lorne a good deal of trouble as Governor-General, and which, we were told, was made more from a desire to send the General Officer in question to "foreign parts", than from any belief in his fitness for the command.

Our cabinet will re-assemble in two or three weeks, and this matter will be disposed of.

You may rest assured that no one appreciates more than I

[1] Major General Ivor John Caradoc Herbert, C.B., commanded the Militia of Canada from 20th June, 1890, to 1st August, 1895. Created a baronet in 1907, and in 1917 raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Treowen.

the importance of being in accord with H.M. Government on the important subject of national defence.

Believe me,
dear Lord Knutsford,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From Sir John Macdonald to H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught.

Rivière du Loup,
August 20, 1890.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from Your Royal Highness on the subject of the succession to General Middleton's command.

The rumour that we were going to appoint a Canadian to the position was quite unfounded, and originated in the press which was in want of news.

The officer commanding the Canadian militia must hold "the rank of Colonel or rank superior thereto in Her Majesty's regular Army", and therefore no mere militia officer can be appointed.

The appointment rests with the Governor-General on the advice of his ministers, who cannot divest themselves of the responsibility for such advice.

We have been attacked in Parliament here, on several occasions for the acts of the Major General commanding, and notably in this case of General Middleton.

Our sole desire is to get an officer qualified for the position, not only on account of his military attainments, but from his ability to deal with an irregular force.

From Your Royal Highness's statement, Col. Herbert would seem to be the right man for the place. Although your note is marked 'private', I have taken the liberty of showing it to Sir Adolphe Caron, our Minister of Militia and Defence, who will bring the matter up before the cabinet early next month.

No one is more impressed than I with the importance, nay the necessity of the Canadian Govt. being completely *en rapport* with the Imperial military authorities on all matters connected with the national defence.

It afforded us much pleasure to see Your Royal Highness again, and I am glad to know that Her Royal Highness as well as yourself, were gratified by your reception. I hope that it may be an inducement for another visit.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your Royal Highness's
obedient, humble servant,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught, K.G.

From W. C. Van Horne, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

Montreal,
3rd October, 1890.

DEAR SIR JOHN—

When I found on my return home from Ottawa the other day that my wife's republican principles had pretty well disappeared under the influence of her Canadian surroundings, I thought it wise to consult Sir Donald Smith[1] confidentially about what you had been so good as to say to me; and finding that he had very strong views on the subject, I decided to place myself in your hands and his.

At the same time I am not vain enough to think that I have as yet rendered such services to the country as would entitle me to especial recognition, and I would not like such an honour to come to me merely because of my position as President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. I would rather await an opportunity to earn it.

I appreciate more than I can tell you, dear Sir John, the very great honour you have done me in even thinking of me in such a connection.

Faithfully yours,
W. C. VAN HORNE.

Right Honourable,
Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B.,
Ottawa.

Meanwhile, under the combined influences of high protectionist legislation in the United States, known as the McKinley Bill, and an insidious propaganda carried on with the aid of powerful American interests, the cause of Commercial Union made great strides in Canada, and under the form of Unrestricted Reciprocity, was adopted by the

[1] This refers to the honour of K.C.M.G. offered to Mr. Van Horne about this time, but owing to difficulties of allegiance (Mr. Van Horne being an American citizen), not conferred until May, 1894.

Liberal party throughout the Dominion, despite the fact that their ex-leader, Edward Blake, was known to be averse to the new policy.

Sir John Macdonald viewed the progress of this agitation with much concern, being profoundly convinced of the danger to British connection which its success would entail. With a view to arresting its progress, he visited the Maritime Provinces in the summer and early autumn of 1890, and later in the season, made a political tour through Ontario. On the 3rd February, 1891, the House of Commons was dissolved. On the 7th Sir John issued a manifesto to the people of Canada setting forth the issues they were called upon to decide.

The result of the polling on the 5th March showed the Government to be sustained by a majority which, if not so large as on former occasions, was sufficient, Ontario, the theatre of the chief's labours, returning an unimpaired majority. There can be little doubt that to Sir John Macdonald's exertions in this campaign, conducted during the most inclement season of the year, is to be ascribed his physical collapse from which he never really recovered, and which resulted in his death three months later. He had, however, kept Canada for the British Crown, and to achieve this result, ever nearest his heart, he did not grudge the sacrifice of the few years that might remain to him.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Stephen, Bart.

Earnscliffe, Ottawa,
November 10/90.

Private.

My dear Stephen,

Many thanks for your reminder of the *birthday* of the C.P.R. What a change that event has made in this Canada of ours! And to think that not until next year was it expected that the infant prodigy would arrive at maturity.

Your health is now fully recovered from the strain that the vast responsibility thrown upon you in nursing the railway entailed. Mine is very fair, but I feel the weight of 76 years greatly. We can both console ourselves for all the worry we have gone through, by the reflection that we

have done great good to our adopted country, and to the great Empire of which it forms a part. I have read over again your admirable letter of 1883 to the G.T.R. shareholders.

I think you have great cause for thankfulness at the success of the line, instead of feeling disappointed. Its pecuniary returns within such a short period after construction, are almost as remarkable as the unprecedented speed of construction. You, personally, have had an enormous amount of strain, responsibility and worry, but the enterprize has been a success from the beginning.

The Government and Parliament will do what they can to sustain and help the line, but it must be remembered that in 1891 we are to go to the electors, and one cannot foresee the result. If left to ourselves, I have no doubt of a decision in our favour, but I have serious apprehensions which are shared by all our friends here, that a large amount of Yankee money will be expended to corrupt our people. I have no doubt that that rascal Wiman is already raising a fund for the purpose. Sir C. Tupper will tell you that every American statesman (and he saw them all in 88), covets Canada. The greed for its acquisition is still on the increase, and God knows where it will all end. If Gladstone succeeds, he will sacrifice Canada without scruple.

We must face the fight at our next election, and it is only the conviction that the battle will be better fought under my guidance than under another's, that makes me undertake the task, handicapped as I am, with the infirmities of old age.

Mr. Bryce-Douglas[1] has gone to England with a proposition to the Barrow Company for the Atlantic S. Service which will, I hope, be accepted, as he is in favour of it. We are paying a very high price, but it is part of the agreement that a steam line will be established between Australia and British Columbia.

This once put in operation, Canada can fight a successful battle with the U.S. if we carry the country in 91—

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[1] Mr. A. D. Bryce-Douglas was introduced to Sir John Macdonald by Mr. W. C. Van Horne as "the real head of the Naval Construction and Armaments Company of Barrow-in-Furness." Mr. Bryce-Douglas died suddenly during the progress of these negotiations.

if not, unrestricted reciprocity and absorption may be our fate.

Let us hope for the best. The rising of the people of the U.S. against the McKinley bill is most wonderful. What the immediate consequences may be, can't yet be foreseen. By the rotten constitution of the U.S. the present Congress, altho' discredited, nay repudiated, by the people, has full power until 4 March next. It will assemble on 4 December and the question is whether the republican majority can bully it through, or whether, frightened at the hostile attitude of the electors, they may track back a bit. If the Senate is firm even after March next, the McKinley bill cannot be repealed till 97, but I am told that the western senators, although republicans, will back down in face of the angry multitude. We shall see. You will have seen that the Canadian Government is acting with vigour in face of the McKinley bill. We have worked up the steam lines to carry our poultry and eggs to England. Last year Carling imported 20,000 bushels of two-rowed barley from England and distributed the seed in Canada. The crop has proved a success, and we are therefore independent of the American market. For our first class row barley, the American brewers will pay the duty, as they must have it to make their lager and pale beers. Foster, who required a change, has gone off to Cuba and British West Indies to see what can be done in extending our trade in that direction, and Adam Brown goes in January to Jamaica to oversee our contribution to the Exhibition. So you see we are not asleep.

There is a great deal in General Booth's scheme. I always thought the Salvation Army movement would be productive of great good, and was laughed at somewhat for countenancing the movement at Kingston. Their mode is contrary to the taste of the educated classes, but it gets at the multitude. It is but a repetition of the methods of the early Methodists under Wesley and Whitfield. Booth must have a great genius for organization. * * *

Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

From the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir John Macdonald.

Viceroy's Camp.
Jeypore, November 12th, 1890.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am much crestfallen about the portrait. The Queen's Bohemian *protégé* never arrived. From what I hear of him, he was an erratic person and by no means to be depended upon, although he knew how to paint. No painter of any merit has appeared in India since I have been in the country, and I should not like to send you a picture fit for the sign-board of the village inn at Bowood. But I remain on the lookout, and if a decent artist appears at Calcutta or Simla, I will set him to work at once. Poor Holl's death was most unlucky.

I am in the middle of a most interesting tour through Rajputana—these old-fashioned states are much more attractive than Bengal with its cheap and nasty veneer of European culture. The men are soldiers by instinct, splendid riders, and, many of them, longing for an opportunity of showing that they can fight as well as ever, and on our side. The magnificence of the temples and fortresses, and the beauty of even the ordinary native houses, beggars description. But are not these things written in Lady Dufferin's journal, which might really be adopted as a "complete letter writer" for a whole series of viceroys.

I believe I created a scandal by walking across the grand court yard of the Palace here on my way to the Maharaja's Durbar, instead of suffering myself to be carried in the solid silver four poster with red velvet cushions, in which Dufferin diplomatically suffered himself to be "served up."

Lady Macdonald would be delighted with the metal work, the enamels and the "textiles" of Rajputana. We were shown some muslin of which we were told that a lady once wore no less than seven super-imposed dresses, and was after all turned back (I presume by the Maharaja's Lord Chamberlain) on the ground that she was not decently dressed!

Perhaps the enclosed copy of the local journal of Jodhpur may make you laugh. The description of my pigsticking performance must be taken with a sufficient number of grains of salt to convert a whole row of wild boars into best mess pork.

The administration reports of Jodhpur in referring to Prince Albert Victor's visit to the State, wrote "this was indeed a red tape day for Jodhpur."

I remember your telling me long ago that Blaine would play us a trick if he had the chance. He seems however to have been obliged to climb down a bit over the Behring Sea question.

Lady Lansdowne joins me at Delhi next week. I will give her your message.

Good luck to you, and never mind the 76 years; your speech in the Maritime Provinces, which I was reading a day or two ago, was as full of "go" as ever.

My kindest remembrance, please, to Lady Macdonald and believe me, dear Sir John,

Yours sincerely,
L.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.

Earnscliffe,
Private and Confidential. *Ottawa, Nov. 22nd, 1890.*

My dear Tupper,

I have been putting off from time to time writing you on various subjects, and now I do not know when I shall finish this letter, as my interruptions are incessant. * * *

Lastly, I think you had better be cautious in your relations with S. J. Ritchie. He is a clever fellow, and has got a good property at Sudbury—but, if I am correctly informed, he has lately made a mess of it at Washington.

He has been very unwise in publishing his letter to me, making application for govt. aid. You will see that its tone is indiscreet, and he has brought the whole press here down upon him. A Toronto company in consequence of his letter is being formed, which claims to have secured some nickel mine or mines, and asks for a preference over an alien association like Ritchie's.

Yours sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

From W. C. Van Horne, Esq., to Sir John Macdonald.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Co.,
Private. *Montreal, 11th December, 1890.*

Dear Sir John,

I have your note of yesterday, returning Mr. Raymond's letter. I wrote Mr. R. a week or more ago to keep clear of Wiman as bad company to be found in.

The report about nickel deposits on Lake Superior is, I think, true. Marks, of Port Arthur, showed me the other day samples of ore from a large deposit he had uncovered near Schreiber.

All I can say about Clemow's railway is that anything done for it will be done for the Northern Pacific. The Northern Pacific has been in a bad way financially for some time back, and has not been able to carry out

the understanding with the North West Central. That an understanding exists, I know as well as I can know of anything to which I have not been a party.

Faithfully Yours,
W. C. Van Horne.

Rt. Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, G.C.B.,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to Lt.-Governor Angers.

Private & Confidential.

Earnscliffe,
Ottawa, 26th December, 1890.

My dear Angers,

I have yours of the 22nd inst. I am awfully troubled about the state of affairs as between my Quebec colleagues[1]. Pulling as they do against each other, it is impossible to foresee the results. I am, as you know, in favour of Forsyth's[2] appt. as collector, but I don't see how that can be done without the consent of, and against the opinion of Sir Hector, the senior member of the Quebec contingent. * * *

Believe me,
Yours very faithfully,
John A. Macdonald.

From the Lord and Lady Stanley of Preston to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Ottawa, January 11th, 1891.

My dear Sir John,

Many happy returns of the day,[3] and may health, happiness and prosperity attend you!

Amongst all your host of friends, believe me that there are none who more heartily and truly wish you many happy years to come than your two friends

Stanley of Preston
and Constance Stanley of Preston.

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[1] Sir Hector Langevin: Sir Adolphe Caron: Hon. J. A. Chapleau. See Pope's "The Day of Sir John Macdonald," pp. 142-143.

[2] Lt. Colonel J. B. Forsyth, appointed collector of customs at the port of Quebec, 17th April, 1891.

[3] Sir John Macdonald's 76th and last birthday.

From Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., to Sir John Macdonald.

Victoria Chambers,
17, Victoria Street, London, S. W.,
January 12th, 1891.

My dear Sir John,

I duly received your letter of November 22nd. * * * I do not think I require your caution as to our friend S. J. Ritchie. I have no communication with him or his enterprises in any way. I agree with you that he made a great mistake in publishing his application to the Government, yet I think those engaged in developing the nickel industry of Canada are entitled to the support of the Government, and the question of shipping the crude ore, or even nickel matte abroad, or refining it in Canada, is one of vital importance to the development of that section of the country. The least that in my opinion you can do, is to make coke for the purpose of smelting nickel and copper ore, free. I *know* that the three companies at Sudbury have expended $2,000,000 and have to this hour not received one dollar of dividend.

Yours faithfully,
Charles Tupper.

From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. John Boyd.[1]

16th January, 1891.

My dear Boyd,

I have received, through Pope, your very kind message of congratulation on the occasion of my 76th birthday, and I thank you heartily for the remembrance. I must ask you to convey my grateful acknowledgments to all my St. John friends who joined you in sending good wishes.

I am, thank God, in very fair health, and hope to be of some use to the country yet.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
John A. Macdonald.

The Hon'ble
John Boyd
St. John, N. B.

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1 A Senator of Canada from St. John; afterward Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick; died 4th December, 1893.

From Governor-General the Lord Stanley of Preston to Sir John Macdonald.

Government House,
Private. *Ottawa, March 7th, 1891.*

My dear Sir John,

I have just received a telegram from Lord Salisbury—asking me to present the hearty congratulations of himself and his colleagues, on your victory.[1]

He adds, "We watched the contest with some anxiety, and with much sympathy for him."

I have reason to know that the Queen has expressed her great gratification at the result of the elections. Will you tell me whether you would like any answer telegraphed.

I thought it no indiscretion yesterday, in telegraphing to the Colonial Office, to say that I did not intend to trouble you about business for a day or two, until you had recovered the fatigue of the election.

I received in reply a telegram hoping that you would not suffer from your overwork, or words to that effect.

Yours very truly,

S.

From the Marquess and H. R. H. the Marchioness of Lorne to Sir John Macdonald.

Windsor, March 9th, 1891.

Heartfelt congratulations.

Lorne, Louise.

From the Rev. Gavin Lang to Sir John Macdonald.

Inverness, Scotland, 17th March, 1891.

Dear Sir John,

I cannot refrain from offering you heartiest and warmest congratulations on the result of the General Election in Canada. No one on this side the sea watched the progress of the struggle with keener interest than I, but our Provincial press is still distressingly unappreciative of the life and future of our great Dominion. Since I was across with the British Association when I had the pleasure of meeting you at Point Levis, I have been lecturing on the "Great North West" on every available occasion, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that a goodly number of our Highland people, who were moved to emigrate by my representations, are prospering in the new world. I must have spoken on the subject of Canada to close upon 10,000 people and at about 50 meetings for nearly

[1] In the General Elections held on the 5th March, 1891.

100 hours. I live in the hope of seeing the Dominion again, which has a very big corner of my heart still, although the 'how' and 'when' are, as yet, very undetermined.

Might I add my congratulations to Lady Macdonald, and with every good wish,

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
GAVIN LANG.

The Right Honourable
Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B.,
Ottawa.

From Sir John Macdonald to Sir George Stephen, Bart.

Earnscliffe, Ottawa.
Private. *March 31, 1891.*

MY DEAR STEPHEN,

I overworked myself during the campaign and forgot I was 76 and more; hence prostration, from which I am only now recovering. Hence also my delay in answering your notes. The effect of the McKinley tariff is so disastrous, that if our election had been postponed until another harvest, we should have been swept out of existence. As it was, I was surprised and grieved to find the hold unrestricted reciprocity had got of our farmers. They were carried away, as the agricultural labourers in England were, by the cry of "three acres and a cow."

I have of course pointed out that U.R. meant annexation, and the movements of Cartwright, Farrer[1] & Wiman enabled us to raise the loyalty cry, which had considerable effect. Still, the farmers' defection, and the large sums sent, *beyond a doubt*, from the U.S. have left us with a diminished majority and an uncertain future.

I forgot to add that the hostility of the G.T.R. was an important factor against us. It is painful to read the false

[1] Edward Farrer, a brilliant Canadian journalist. The particular reference here is to an alleged plot between Farrer and Erastus Wiman to employ the cry of unrestricted reciprocity in order to promote the annexation of Canada to the United States, which was exposed by Sir John Macdonald in his last election campaign. Mr. Farrer subsequently was quite outspoken in his belief that political union with the United States is the manifest destiny of Canada. Died, 27 April, 1916.

statements of Sir H. Tyler.[1] Both Seargeant[2] and Wainwright[3] do not hesitate to say, the orders were from England. The latter told me so explicitly. I have no doubt the company bitterly regrets their action now.

I hear that Hickson says he does not see how Tyler can remain president.

I regret to see that you still harp on the B.C. arbitration. It is a simple matter. The C.P.R. had a claim against the Railway Dept. which the latter disputed as excessive, tho' willing to pay a considerable sum. This therefore could only be settled by arbitration, or a suit in the courts. Both parties preferred arbitration, and a very able trio of referees were appointed. Both sides selected very competent counsel, and both have very properly left the case to be managed by them. I wrote you once that you should read Charles Reade's story—"Put Yourself in His Place".

The particulars of the C.P.R. show a claim of some six millions, and what would Parlt. and the country say to us, if an enormous award were given against us, and it was shown that we had acted against the advice of counsel? Inevitable and just censure would have been poured out upon us. We were therefore right to do as our counsel advised, and not to agree to anything they advised against.

This unfortunate difference once settled, I have no doubt the relations between Govt. and C.P.R. will be pleasant.

Since I have had charge of the Dept. I have endeavoured to manage matters amicably. Occasionally Van Horne, as was to be expected, made demands which allowed for a considerable margin, and he pressed them with great earnestness, but we finally always arrived at a reasonable compromise.

His letters against U.R. did much good among thinking men, and if the G.T.R. had confined itself to arguments in favour of free trade, no one could object, but the C.P.R. men

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[1] Sir Henry Whatley Tyler, Kt., in 1891, president of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada. Died, 30th January, 1908.

[2] In 1891 Mr. L. J. Seargeant was General Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway Company. Died, 28th November, 1905.

[3] William Wainwright, Assistant General Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway; formerly a close friend of Sir John Macdonald, though somewhat estranged latterly by reason of the political attitude of his chiefs. Died, 14th May, 1914.

were allowed full liberty. I shall leave it to Sir C. Tupper to tell you the extremes to which Seargeant & Co.[1] went. Our conference with Blaine will amount to nothing, but we want to drive him into a statement that he won't deal with us unless we adopt the U. S. tariff and discriminate against England, which we won't do.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

And with these words fitly closes the correspondence of Sir John Macdonald.

---

[1] i.e. The officials of the Grand Trunk Railway Company in Canada acting under instructions of Mr. Seargeant, the General Manager.

THE END

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